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PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

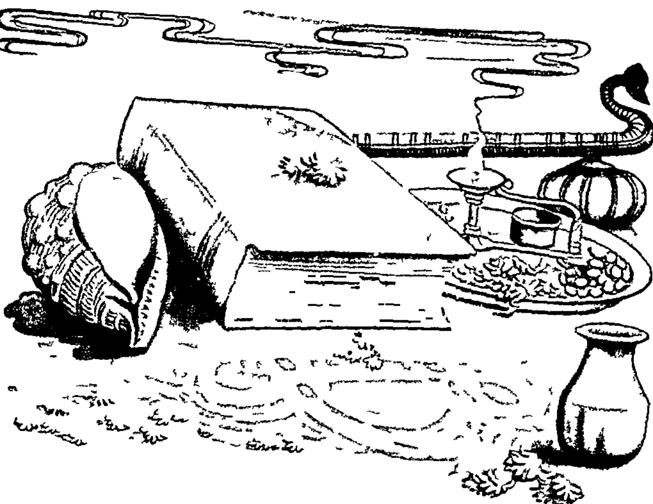


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FOREWORD
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Indira Nehru Gandhi

A devoted custodian of the Nation's greatest treasure
To Whom
This book is dedicated
in everlasting gratitude



Dr B V Keskar

FOREWORD

In this book Mr Prabodh Chandra has attempted a laudable but difficult task in trying to present the achievements of free India in a panoramic way It is not easy to judge the relative importance of events and their repercussions immediately after they have taken place It takes a little perspective a recess of time, to be able to judge them correctly

Nevertheless I am glad that he has made this attempt It is necessary even for the contemporaries to try to realise the great events that have taken place and the immense task that we are facing for the future It is not easy to dispossess oneself of past inhibitions and prejudices We had been brought up in a generation of struggle and fight against foreign domination That gave us courage and a spirit of self sacrifice but it also left a residue of certain defects the most prominent of which can be considered to be an inferiority complex or want of self confidence We have been so much accustomed to having things done by others for us even against our will that we have developed a certain timidity and an unconscious feeling of our own incompetence in tackling problems that face us today It will be difficult to shed these sentiments all at once The great burden that we have to bear coupled with the results that we are achieving in various walks of life will soon drive away this sentiment But it is no use denying that it colours the outlook of contemporary India to a great extent and is responsible for much of the criticism that we hear round about us

The task that faced India after August 1947 would have daunted the bravest We were facing a dark and uncertain future made darker still by the bloodshed of partition and influx of refugees It is not realised that one of our main difficulties has been that most of us did not expect such a sudden departure of British power from this country We were all trying for it fighting against it and were quite sure that they will have to quit At the same time it was taken for granted that it will require much greater and powerful efforts on our part before we could make them leave this country But it is now clear that the tremendous urge for self government that Gandhiji had unleashed throughout the country had made it well nigh impossible for them to carry on their administration effectively Over and above this international events moved in such a way after the Great War that they had to reconsider their whole approach to world problems This combined with a courageous leadership in England made them decide to quit while they could do it with some grace The suddenness of the departure created a number of problems Many people even important persons did not mentally adjust themselves to the change easily The illusion that we were still living in old times persisted This was all the more possible because the bureaucratic machinery was practically the same as before The impression of a radically new world created by a war and a bloody revolution which sweeps clean everything old was absent This made it difficult for large numbers of the general public to realise that a real change has taken place in the governance of our country We were also so busy with urgent problems like the refugees the States and others and we had no time to give to this important problem of psychologically persuading the public and making them realise the immense change that has taken place

As a consequence of all this we are witnessing a gradual and rather slow change in public psychology There are those quite numerous who still would not like to believe that they are in a new and completely changed country Many vestiges of old times help them in clinging to this idea A bloodless revolution in which we have a peaceful transfer of power including the inheritance by the new regime of the machinery of the old poses problems very different from one

established by bloodshed and usurpation of authority We have not been able to give sufficient attention to this important psychological problem of making the people realise the difference between the old and the new regime Nevertheless, there is no doubt that now the majority of people in the country realise the change that has come over the country It is necessary to carry on this psychological process still further and more expeditiously The partition which ushered in a new and independent India is itself still a debated question Was it wise to have accepted it? Many political thinkers and some political parties even now maintain that we should never have accepted partition as it brought about so much bloodshed and misery That it was a terrific wrench is undoubtedly true At the same time a dispassionate study of the events leading to partition leaves one in no doubt that there was no other alternative excepting accepting it Otherwise, we might have been faced with a forcible division of India by the British on the model of A & B regions that they had prepared which would have made this country even worse or alternatively we would have continued to have a weak and badly governed country, always disturbed by communal riots and an unbalanced economy Communal parity in administration would have served as a permanent deadlock in the way of progress and prosperity It might have been the spectacle of a nation permanently divided against itself It is easy to be wise after the event Nobody could have foreseen that any such catastrophe will take place after partition The merits or demerits of partition will however always remain a fruitful subject of discussion though this can now be considered more in the nature of an academic debate

The consolidation of our hard won independence and the efforts that have been made during the last seven or eight years for economic and social progress will form a notable chapter in the varied and glorious history of this country A determined effort was made to overcome the obstacles that faced us in 1947 We had to face a triple task Firstly, immediate relief had to be given to the victims of communal bloodshed that had taken place as a result of partition Secondly the political consolidation of the country had to be tackled at once for without a strongly knit and stable administrative machinery, it would not have been possible to plan anything for the future The problem was all the more urgent as the country was divided into hundreds of units of various sizes from tiny principalities to big provinces with different types of governments Thirdly we had at the same time to plan for the future development of the country India was fortunate in having able leadership with vision courage and determination Gandhiji was still alive to inspire us and give a correct guidance The task of rehabilitating the refugees herculean and at one time appearing to be impossible of solution made slow but steady progress Under the dynamic and practical leadership of Sardar Patel the country demonstrated a remarkable record in integrating the administration of the various units into one well knit whole within the short period of three years and the Constitution of India was passed on 26th of January This by itself will form one of the most amazing chapters in our history

It is after these two important and urgent questions had been tackled that planning for our future could assume a practical shape However the idea of having a blueprint for our future development has never been absent from the minds of our leaders The conception of a Plan is mainly due to the inspiration and farsightedness of the Prime Minister who long before we attained independence realised that before we attained independence we must be ready with our own scheme for the development of the country otherwise we were likely to waste valuable time in preliminary thinking He was the Chairman of the National Planning Committee of the Congress which did important work in laying down the foundations of the Planning Commission of the future It is on the basis of the spade work done by the National Planning Committee that later the Planning Commission took up the great task of preparing a master plan for the progress and prosperity of the country The history of the Planning Commission and the

work that it is carrying on is now too well known and is being dealt with in detail in some of the chapters of this book I will therefore not say anything about it But it is worth remembering that the first few years of the Plan were crucial We were trying a new experiment we were walking into the unknown without much practical knowledge with little experience and with unpredictable resources Much depended on our faith and our capacity for selfsacrifice and work At this difficult juncture the inspiration vision and faith of Jawaharlalji inspired the country and tided over the first few critical years when the Plan might as well have failed completely or degenerated into an indifferent success Slowly many of the projects and proposals in the Plan began to take shape and with concrete results here and there the country as a whole began to gain confidence in its capacity to build and construct As the Plan gained momentum that confidence increased and now towards the end of the First Five Year Plan we are in a position to say that the First Five Year Plan has been a notable success In fact it can compare favourably with many other ventures of a similar kind organised by other Nations at a greater sacrifice and with greater and more autocratic Governmental powers This Plan has laid the foundation not only of future Plans but has given a flying start for the economic and social prosperity of the India of the future

Though our Five Year Plan might have many features common with other such Plans in some foreign countries there are a number of features which distinguish it from them and which can be considered uniquely our own The most important of these is the Community Projects Organisation The Community Projects are a concerted drive to rehabilitate the villages of India which contain the majority of India s population It is an ambitious Plan which proposes to change radically the face of rural India Here again it was the uncanny intuition of Jawaharlalji which initiated this great venture There have been many critics of the Community Projects No doubt more could have been done and they could have been improved but taken all in all there is no doubt that they have for the first time in the history of the last thousand years or so moved the Indian village from its static and hopeless condition A new kind of hope a new dynamism and activity is slowly becoming apparent in the countryside If we take into consideration the hundreds of thousands of villages involved progress in this direction cannot but be slow What has been achieved in a short space of time is nothing short of miraculous The more the momentum of the Plan for Community Projects the bigger will be the achievements There is no doubt that this is a novel and remarkable feature of our Plan and is drawing the attention of thinkers and experts from foreign countries

We are on the threshold of the next Five Year Plan which is far more ambitious than the first one At the beginning of such a venture which is bound to play a decisive role in the further development of India it is heartening for us to know that our achievements up to the date are by no means mediocre We can take heart and learn from the experience that we have gained during the last few years There is no doubt that the Second Plan will give a measure of success far greater than the first one and put the country solidly on the path of economic prosperity and progress

B V KESKAR

NEW DELHI
March 14 1956



Prabodh Chandra

PREFACE

THIS book is not an expert treatise, nor is it a specialized study My object in compiling it has been to present, in broad outline a general survey of the Indian scene since independence And I have endeavoured to portray the scene on an over all view so that the reader may be able to have a cohesive picture The accent throughout is on significant developments — in the political and economic as much as in the social and cultural spheres The context of these developments has as might be expected, been traced to the aspirations inherent in the struggle for freedom especially in its penultimate stages during the pre independence years At the same time it has not been overlooked that by themselves and more so in terms of the kinetics they have released, the developments represent a dynamic revolution by consent

In a survey of this type care had to be taken that objectivity did not get blurred by the ideological approach of any particular party I have sought to attain objectivity in that sense as far as possible Yet I am conscious that I have for far too long a period been a member of the Indian National Congress and been privileged to share its successes and failures in too intimate a manner to eschew the Congress point of view altogether As Parliamentary Secretary in the Congress Ministry in East Punjab I have also in recent years been associated with administra tion But it is my firm conviction that objectivity has not been sacrificed thereby

Objectivity is after all not an absolute concept, nor is it I believe coeval with intellectual or emotional vacuity In any case in the Indian context one of the greatest single objective truths is the inseparabil ty of the history of India s struggle for freedom from the history of the Congress The main burden of carrying through that struggle to success fell on this organization In the consol da tion of freedom since the end of British rule in India in 1947, and in the building up of the bases of a new re invigorated India too its contribution has been pre eminent decisive and in some respects unsurpassed by that of any pol tical party anywhere at any time Necessarily therefore this compilation underscores the contribution made by the Congress and since attainment of independence by the Congress governments at the Centre and in the States This has been done in the interests of objectivity — and not with a view to lending to the survey it presents a polemical partisan colouring

We are perhaps yet too near the great revolution that is in the making in India today to be able to take a really dispassionate measure of it Yet if I have been emboldened to attempt to do so that is because there is too much carping criticism all around and too persistent a refusal to give credit where it is due By and large this is no doubt a hangover of our past when our energies were d rected primarily against an alien government But this surely is an unhealthy trend In course of my political career in recent years I have noticed this tendency of negative and carping criticism affecting even a large body of Congressmen Partly this is due to a certain amount of disillusionment Not all the hopes engendered during the freedom struggle have yet been fulfilled But to a large extent indeed to a preponderant degree the d sillusionment also results from a woeful lack of knowledge about the solid achievements in various fields which the Government the ruling party and the people as a whole have in recent years earned to their credit

True, criticism is the very breath of democracy The concept of Opposition in a democratic society is itself based on the assumption that alert vig lant, and responsible criticism by it offers to those in office and authority much needed discipl ne Popularly felt grievances and injustices would also remain unexpressed

and unremedied were a community to be bereft of men with critical mind who would refuse to accept anything for granted even if it came from the highest or the tallest But unless Opposition and criticism are themselves disciplined adequately informed of manifest facts and constructive democracy cannot hope to survive in this country The voice of the people is the voice of God as the saying goes The voice of those interested and frustrated is however not necessarily the voice of the people Often enough their voice is the voice of Devil himself This compilation will have served its purpose if it is able even to some extent to bring this fact home to the readers

Much of what this book presents is to be found in Government blue books and a whole series of other publications of the Government of India and the Governments of the States But these publications are mostly specialized studies or deal with specific branches of development and of activities To the bulk of even English knowing readers of this country they are largely sealed tomes, unknown or exasperatingly taxing That more than anything else accounts for the yawning chasm that today seems to separate those in power from the common man though the chasm is not there really It is to be hoped that the cohesive over all survey which this compilation attempts will therefore be found to be useful

Many of the articles incorporated in this compilation have been written by persons mostly non Congressmen well acquainted with their subjects Mr Eric da Costa the Editor of the Eastern Economist for instance, has contributed the article on Indian Economy the review of India's foreign policy comes from Mr K P Karunakaran of the Indian Council of World Affairs Mr K G Saiyidain Secretary of the Ministry of Education on the other hand surveys the progress in the field of Education The article on planning is by Sardar Tarlok Singh Joint Secretary Planning Commission Then there is a brilliant write up on Our Army in Action in Kashmir by Mr D R Mankekar Editor of the Delhi edition of the Times of India' Mention must also be made of the article on Industrial Development by Mr S P Jain one-time President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries And these comprise only a few in a series of others that are to be found in this compilation

Other Chapters deal with the formative stage of India's democratic set up exemplified by the drafting and adoption of her Constitution the consolidation of the States and the elections held on popular suffrage Then follow chapters that review the broad contours of the vistas opened up by multipurpose projects and the battle against centuries old poverty and backwardness In this section the article on Seven Years of Congress Rule in Bombay by its Chief Minister Shri Morarji Desai deserves special mention Mr Anil Chanda Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs contributes the article on Art and Culture

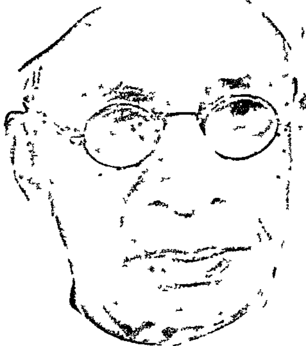
In the preparation of this compilation I have had to rely on the co operation and assistance of many It is not possible within the space available to express my gratitude to all of them But I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the debt I owe to at least some of them I am particularly indebted to Dr B V Keskar the Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting who has contributed a foreword to this book and to the authors who have taken pains in contributing their articles in spite of short notice and pressure on their valuable time My thanks must also go to Mr Roop Kishore of Chitrashala Dehradun for the paintings and illustrations and to Mr Kirpal Singh of Rajasthan for the cover design To Mr Prem Nath and Prof Shiv Kumar I am indebted for assistance in production. Finally I must thank Mr A. K Mukerji Joint Editor of THOUGHT Delhi, who helped me in editing the manuscripts and in looking through the proofs

PRABODH CHANDRA

Gurdaspur
March 18 1956

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Dr. S. Radhakrishnan



Guide & Philosopher

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS



Upto the Light

Rashtrapati Dr. Rajendra Prasad



Soul of the Common Man

"There is no legitimacy on earth but in a government which is the choice of the nation "——Joseph Bonaparte

EIGHT years have passed since independence During this period India has witnessed historic changes, cataclysmic and revolutionary in their import The most important among them is the transfer of power and the installation of the National Government The British Government in India, whatever its claims, proved utterly incapable of providing good government, not to speak of raising the standards of the masses of the country Instead of ever thinking in terms of industrial and cultural growth of the country they governed for more than a hundred years, *the British had* persistently created an atmosphere of fear, distrust and suppression

True, for more than a hundred years under British rule, India had a peaceful administration Peace reigned over the land and law was administered as between man and man under a system of jurisprudence which was enlightened and comprehensive Railways and telegraphs linked the country together But the peace which reigned over India was more a peace of the grave-yard Though the system of jurisprudence was enlightened and comprehensive, the rule and application of this law in regard to personal liberty was held more often in abeyance than observed

The British conception of ruling India was of the police State The government's job, according to this conception, was to protect the State and leave the rest to others This explains why expenditure on military, police, and civil administration swallowed up most of the revenue The British concentrated on everything that went to strengthen their political and economic grip over the country Everything else was of little moment The economic needs of the people were conveniently brushed aside and sacrificed at the altar of British interests Cultural needs too the 'Black Man' was considered to be totally incapable of feeling Improvement of public health and the provision of universal education were thought of as luxuries which needed not to be wasted on the masses The changing conception of public finance in other countries in consonance with the idea of a welfare state, remained mostly beyond the vision of the Government

During the long period the British remained dominant in our land, they had a free hand to mould lia as they willed They did make big changes and left the country very different from what it was when y came here—railways, irrigation works, factories, schools and colleges, huge government offices, etc etc , these are a standing testimony to this fact

Yet, in spite of all these changes, what was the shape of India like when the foreigners were made to it the land ? As they had managed to keep the country a survile State, governed by strangers from afar, r people had been reduced to abject poverty and victims to other privations As the educational policy of e Government had not been even nominally progressive, illiteracy was rampant, notwithstanding the ception and growth of the great Universities in the provincial capitals and the institution of a system of vernment Colleges These institutions only helped to create a fairly large (though essentially urban, iddle class) literate class which suited the interests of the rulers in running the day to day administration of e country It was only incidental that this provision of middle class education resulted in the creation an enlightened body of like minded people all over India who talked the same language, had the same point view and were able to think in terms of national interests That such a thing would result from their own easures was never the intention at least had never been the desire of those who provided educational facities The progress was even slower in respect of medical welfare and public-health measures In short, hatever little was done in the sphere of these activities was mostly confined to urban areas Nothing was one to ameliorate the lot of the rural masses who were being crushed equally under the excesses of the cusodians of law and order and the limitless exploitation by money-lenders and the reactionary landlords nd taluqdars who formed the main stay of the Government But India means millions of unhappy griculturists, and not a handful of middle class people who populate the towns These poor millions ere reduced to the status of serfs

We are told even today that, from the point of actual administrative work, the British Government in ndia was one of the best in the world Best for whom, we may pertinently ask ? If they built up a powerul and Central Government and an efficient police force, that was an achievement for which they can take redit but Indians can hardly gloat over an achievement which merely strengthened British rule and ightened their grip over them Further we are told that another achievement of the British rule vas the unification of India But an objective and dispassionate view of the whole process reveals that this olitical unity of India was achieved incidentally as a by-product of the Empire's advance The doctrine of paramountcy was the means through which this change was effected , the assumption of the imperial title by Queen Victoria and the Three Imperial Durbars at Delhi were the external manifestations to the world of the achievement of this unity Unity is a remarkably good thing but unity in bondage and shackles is hardly some thing to be proud of or even to feel complacent about Unity is strength, but such unity in subjection cannot be called a strength of the people , it only adds to the strength of the despotic government which becomes an even greater burden on the people

That the motive and the achievement of this unity emanated in no way from pious intentions on the part of our erstwhile rulers is revealed by the Butler report of 1929, which brings to light the conspiracy of princely and imperial interests The British as well as the Princes endeavoured to separate British India from the States on the thesis that the relationship of the States was with the Crown of England The achievement of unity was a conscious process of unification which had, at least as one of its objectives, the effective exercise of British authority in large tracts where it was no more than nominal But soon after the first Great War the British authorities looked askance at the political wisdom of strengthening the movement for unity They seriously thought of thwarting the process of welding the whole of India into one country, which was the product of a move consciously set afoot by them decades back to achieve certain ends Hence their

conspiracy with the Indian Princess to disrupt the unity that had already been achieved. But it came rather too late to achieve the desired end. They saw in growing unity, the germs of a potential danger to the Empire. But the economic, fiscal, and administrative tentacles of Central Government bound the States too closely to allow any separation.

Later on, especially in the nineteen thirties when nationalism fostered by this political unity made a concerted effort to challenge alien rule, the country was confronted with ugly measures aimed at deliberate promotion of disunity and sectarianism. A peep into that crucial period of India's history shows the magnitude of these measures to retard the pace of our struggle for the attainment of Independence. These measures came as formidable obstacles to future progress. The British made all possible efforts to encourage fissiparous tendencies and create new problems, chiefly the minority problems, which considerably weakened and were to a great extent responsible for counter acting the nationalist urge. The exaggerated accounts of the gravity of these problems, which were solely of its own creation gave, in its turn, an excuse to the Imperialist power to stay on. It always gave it a pretext to parade itself before the world as a neutral and detached arbitrator keen to part with power but unable to do so because of its concern over the anarchic conditions that defaced the land it loved so much and had served for so long. The clamouring of the people for freedom and democracy was dubbed as the importunate insistence of unpractical idealists.

It is perhaps difficult to take an impartial view of the long stay of the British in India. It might, however, be possible to make a rough assessment, were it not for the psychological and other factors which are difficult to weigh and measure. The British case is that their authority established the rule of law and a just and efficient administration. The Indian point of view condemns this so called rule of law as the rule of a police state which was most often turned against the very people whom it was supposed to protect. It was merely the instrument of inflicting injuries upon the Indian people in the garb of a blessing. Other changes effected by the British also reveal on analysis that they were brought about more in the interest of tightening the Imperial sway over India than for *the amelioration of the lot of the masses. There was, however,* nothing strange in the way the rulers sought justification for their repressive measures. The policy of wise rulers has always been to disguise such acts under popular forms.

From the point of view of organization for national welfare the work of the British Government during their entire stay falls short of what could have been legitimately expected from those who ruled us for more than a century and a half. Industrial development and agriculture were neglected. The arts and crafts of India were stifled and the general tone of life showed no signs of material or psychological improvement. Instead a continual process of commercial and economic exploitation artfully veiled but relentlessly pursued drained away the greater part of wealth from India, thus causing perpetual misery to the masses.

Whatever the degree of truth in the British claim of having stayed here and civilised and bettered the lot of their subjects, whatever the degree of truth in the counter-charge made by Indians, doubting the bonafides of the British goodwill, the fact remains that the rulers confined their activities mainly to the collection of revenue the maintenance of 'peace' and the defence of India's frontiers, the three minimum essentials of government, and *undertook schemes neither for the re-organization of society, nor for raising the material* and moral standards of the people, nor even for increasing the national wealth of the country. In short, they cannot be said to have undertaken the work of civilising a land where they continued their hold on one pretext or the other. I affirm this for the facts of history warrant this view and perusal of the pages chronicling events of that era readily yield such an inference.

There is indeed a vital test, a test which might well serve as a fairly reliable criterion of judging the goodwill or otherwise of the government in power, and that test is no other than the well-being of the people as a

whole An objective application of this test to the days of British regime leads to gloomy inferences The country presented a poor and dismal sight behind all the imperial splendour, behind New Delhi with its Viceregal pomp and pageantry and the Provincial Governors with all their ostentation The Imperial Splendour was in fact, only a measure of the people's abject and astonishing poverty

It is India's glory that there was sufficient faith and vision left even in the period of the greatest misery and gloom to enable her to recover People abundantly realised that they were the champions of an ideal in the fulfilment of which they were not to be deterred by any persecution The masses under the inspiration and guidance of national leaders like Gandhi, Nehru and Patel carried on their march towards freedom Their national idealism was never subdued and their faith never grew dim In the history of a people what counts in the end is the achievement of the people the faith that moves them to great deeds, and the endeavours they make to bring in conditions conducive to a re-organization of society fit for man to live in

It was this heightened sense of national idealism and unflinching faith that brought us to the threshold of freedom And the year 1947 marked its consummation and fulfilment It would perhaps be more apt to say that 1947 was the year when India was reborn It is in the context of this recent re-birth of our motherland that I propose to set forth an account of the opportunity given to the people of moulding their land according to their heart's desire, and of the degree in which they have succeeded in their attainments A detached objective, and dispassionate view of recent happenings is not easy Whereas the advocates and supporters of the Government write its eulogies and sing undiluted hymns of its achievements without any regard to some of the draw-backs and even blunders, which have been made, the critics express themselves rather more aggressively debunking the Government for its acts of omission and commission It is very rarely that one comes across a balanced, serene and poised appraisal of what these years of freedom have brought to us Very often facts are slurred over, or vital things skipped, in order to help hasten ready-made conclusions The purpose of this book is mainly to give a clear sense of perspective to all the events of the period

It shall be my purpose in the succeeding pages to bring out clearly the various changes and significant developments that have occurred in this brief period after the 're birth' of India I shall also make an effort to present the true import of these developments in relation to present day civilisation and their potential effect on the future of civilisation Naturally it will be an attempt to analyse and critically evaluate the achievements of our National Government in various spheres of the nation's life It is not intended to be an encomium but a detached appraisal of facts and figures and their significance for us

We cannot say that these few years of freedom have already ushered in an era of a golden age or a millennium In fact there is no such thing as a golden age which is merely the chimera of a defeated people As I have already remarked, the vital test of a Government is the well-being of the people as a whole It is by this test that we should reckon the achievements of our National Government, it is by this test that I have analysed the impact of British Raj on this country

Those who expect miracles overnight are merely asking for the moon They lose touch with reality and hard facts They take no count of the difficulties that confront even a National Government, difficulties that have to be faced, and not merely charmed away Now, from the very inception of Independence, it has been the endeavour of the Government to lay the foundations of a stable, prosperous, and progressive democracy more or less on a socialistic pattern It was very unfortunate that it had to face enormous difficulties, some inherent and some unforeseen The Government had to tackle and surmount these difficulties At the same time it had to go ahead with the gigantic task of re-shaping the destiny

of the country and transforming society into a living organism The new Government rose to the occasion and has overcome these difficulties as best as it could The results have not always been spectacular But governmental measures have invariably been directed towards the betterment of the lot of the masses who had suffered centuries of malnutrition and disease, who had been the victims of neurosis and psychological mal-adjustments, who had been through the stress and strain of innumerable years of foreign yoke, and who had been sick of a perpetual sense of fear, anxiety and insecurity Even the most pungent critics of Government will admit that in some cases its efforts have been crowned with great success, for instance, the integration of what were formerly known as princely Indian States By and large, if one takes due account of the difficulties, the balance sheet is in no way disappointing

We had a date with Destiny When that date came India found herself out of an abysmal depth But she had not yet reached the Happy Valley of her dreams, she was still as if on a precipice The dawn of freedom found the country backward in almost every respect Agriculture, the mainstay of the country's economy, had been shattered The actual tillers of the land were living in almost sub human conditions Vested non cultivating interests grabbed the major portion of what the cultivators produced with their sweat and toil The abject misery of the cultivators owed itself partly to old-fashioned, unscientific and unproductive methods of agriculture, but mostly, I feel, to land laws which were feudal and reactionary Backward as they were — and naturally so because of the accumulated result of many years of neglect—they could not be overhauled instantaneously So the leaders of the new Government pledged themselves to the immediate abolition of Zamindari and of reactionary land-laws They have succeeded in legislating for their repeal in almost all the States The legislation gives a fair deal to the cultivator, it also goes a long way in giving him a sense of security Along with those measures, new methods of agriculture have been introduced , mechanised farming is subsidised by the Government Such efforts as these have resulted in improving the quality of the agricultural produce and also in increasing the total production, thus making India self sufficient in the matter of foodgrains, on the one hand, and greatly improving the economic conditions of the cultivators, on the other This marvellous achievement can be better appreciated if we keep in mind the worsening effect of partition on the food position Partition left 82% of the pre-partition population of the country to the share of India, but only 69 percent of the irrigated area This accentuated the acute shortage of food in the first few years of our freedom Viewed in this light, the results of Governmental efforts, together with the co-operation of people, in transforming India into food-surplus land, are really commendable

Handicaps and problems were not lacking in the industrial sphere also The jute and cotton producing areas had gone mostly to Pakistan, while the manufacturing areas remained in India This put the entire trade and industry out of gear This dislocation led to labour troubles which were made capital of and fomented by subversive elements

But the most baffling problem that confronted the Government on the eve of Independence was the monster of communalism The immediate impact of the unprecedented communal disturbances was the exodus from Pakistan of about five million men, women and children who were driven to seek refuge on this side of the border Communal tension flared up from a can fire into an orgy of blood-shed and inhuman atrocities The machinery of law and order almost collapsed as the services had been considerably depleted by the departure of British and Muslim officials The very basis of Government was staggering and the mad career of violence started by anarchic forces brought certain parts of the country to the verge of chaos and anarchy At the same time, the task of adequately feeding, housing and rehabilitating the large influx of uprooted people necessitated the attention and energy of the Government from the very outset of its career The national resources which would otherwise have been better utilised for fighting poverty had, of necessity, to be diverted for the relief and rehabilitation of millions of refugees

It was against these heavy odds that the leaders of our Government had to fight And they were quite new to the administrative system It was for them a novel experience to enter the red sandstone Imperial Secretariat to pick up the reins of administration after they had for long been familiar only with the precincts of Ahmednagar Fort But they had flaming enthusiasm, a new vision, an ardent faith in the national cause—a cause they had so assiduously nurtured They no doubt lacked 'a knowledge of *clerkship and the diplomatic art of keeping office* ', but they had abundant zeal and single-minded devotion to the public service , they set to their work for the joy and glory of it, and not for the attraction of any monetary gain They possessed qualities which were an ample recompense for their lack of experience in matters administrative With moving eloquence Pandit Nehru made the momentous declaration on the floor of the Indian Parliament ' Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but substantially " And these years of freedom have indeed witnessed a substantial fulfilment of these dreams

It is difficult to examine the true import of recent developments and the course of events with complete detachment We suck prejudice with our mother's milk I shall, however, endeavour to conduct a survey with the calm curiosity of one whose sentiments and passions, whose predilections and antipathies, are biased neither towards the one side nor the other I shall not omit the lapses on the part of the Government In short, I shall investigate without prejudice , and I shall state the results without reserve

Where shall I begin ? I suggest a simple but nonetheless vital test to the reader Juxtapose the conditions of life under the British rule with those obtaining now and consider the proposition whether these few years of freedom have witnessed the inception of a better order of society While during the *earlier decades of this century other countries of the world were launching great schemes for the alleviation* of distress among their masses while those countries were vigorously pursuing the implementation of housing schemes for the poor while the rest of the world was rapidly advancing ahead in the spheres of education, sanitation, medical relief and cultural facilities, what were our rulers doing for us at that time ? They were in no way lethargic, far from it, they were actively busy in hoodwinking their subjects They were busy in presenting the miraculous performance of giving us the sensation of moving forward, and yet at the same time keeping us within the paralysing grips of inertia Towards the fulfilment of this end, they adopted the novel technique of setting up committees and commissions which produced learned reports, 'great State documents ' The inimitable genius of the British for commissions and committees was highly instrumental in evolving checks and balances for putting brakes to the progress of India, while other countries made giant strides on the road to progress On the other hand, what do the activities of our own National Government during these eight years, reflect ? Aren't these clear indications of a certain pattern of progress taking shape ?

Our leaders, ever since the Independence, have been steadfastly endeavouring to build, brick by brick, the destiny of an immeasurably great India Even in this short period they have already initiated new programmes and policies, put new plans into execution and achieved considerably encouraging results They have not only cherished the aspirations of creators of a new and better way of life but have also exerted their utmost in translating those pious aspirations into concrete achievements

The numerous River Valley Projects have resulted in the irrigation of vast tracts of land in regions where agriculture had so long remained a mere 'gamble in the rains ' The introduction of the new modern technique in methods of agriculture has enhanced the produce from land thus contributing substantially towards the income of the peasant These together with other measures have, within a short space of time, transformed India from a food deficit to a food surplus country This tremendous improvement in the

food position rids India of dependence on other countries for one of the vital needs of life Also it has made the agriculturists, who are the real India, prosperous, happier and more secure than ever before

Another conspicuous change——and emphatically a change for the better——is visible in the working of the Administrative machinery The older regime had made it too wooden, too rigid, and too much encumbered with red-tapism The Indian Civil Service was their mainstay The I C S bosses, despite their preposterous assumption of being the trustees and guardians of the Indian masses, knew little about them I do not deny their good qualities, I do even admit that the Service did, as a whole, maintain a certain standard, though I cannot convince myself that that standard was in any away better than one of mediocrity *There were many enthusiastic and earnest officers in this 'kept service', but they had a curious* conception of service, for them it was a service of the Empire India came only as an unavoidable bad second On the whole they were self complacent, narrow and fixed minds, too much in the ruts to adapt themselves to the general progressive environment of the times Besides, whatever the excellence of the Service might otherwise have been, it was devoted to objects detrimental to the interests of the Indian people They were an awe and terror for the people because they wielded autocratic powers, resented all criticism and ruthlessly suppressed all nationalist movements Their inordinate vanity and refusal to listen to the voice of the people had alienated them from the common man In their self conceit they deemed themselves to be no less than demi-gods or 'deputies appointed by the Lord ' The only virtue they had was their capacity of doing their day to-day work fairly competently, though without much brilliance *This was perhaps the only quality of* this 'Privileged Service' which could be of any use to our leaders at the time of Independence when the *whole land was shaken by the unprecedented upheaval brought about by Partition, when the law and order* situation was virtually on the verge of a breakdown, when the country was confronted with the colossal problem of rehabilitating the uprooted refugees At that time, our leaders found this service depleted as a result of the whole sale departure of British and Muslim officers It was mainly due to the untiring efforts of the Congress which, through its leaders and workers inside and outside the Government, exerted itself ceaselessly and ungrudgingly to meet the new problems facing the country that we were able to master difficulties Of course, fresh recruitment was made to the various services to provide a stable administration in the country, but this recruitment was on a wholly different pattern Leaders like Pandit Nehru had always realised that no new order could be built up in India so long as the spirit of the I C S pervaded our administration and our public services The spirit of authoritarianism could in no case co-exist with freedom It was, therefore, highly imperative that the pattern of the I C S and similar services should be remoulded before the National Government could start real work on a new basis Only those officers who were willing to work under new conditions of service were retained In order to provide a scope to the really capable *earnest and efficient workers, open competitions for recruitment to Indian Administrative and Allied Services* were introduced The members of these newly constituted services have acquitted themselves creditably *They are imbued with a zeal for service rather than a passion for over lordship. This change in the higher* services has toned up the efficiency of the members of the lower services at the Centre and in the States, it has also re orientated the out look of the petty officials The policeman of a decade back flaunted his baton arrogantly, his counter-part of to day considers himself a public servant and deals with the public in a courteous and civilised manner

No sooner had the Government finished with the problem of overhauling the administrative machinery and stabilising law and order, than it set itself to the task of enshrining in a Constitution those inspiring principles and ideals which were henceforth to guide the steps of the new State *The arduous labour of the* Parliament for two years, eleven months and eight days, produced an agreed Constitution, and the Republic of India was inaugurated, amidst nation-wide rejoicings, on January 26, 1950 The salient features of this Constitution viz the conception of India as a Secular State, guarantee the freedom of th

enjoining on all legislatures and executives to ensure for the people adequate means of livelihood, equal pay for equal work, employment, free and compulsory education and a large number of other desirable social, political and economic measures——all these pave the way for a Welfare State The true significance of all these steps will be discussed in relevant chapters in the course of this narrative

The introduction of the First Five Year Plan in 1951 is a landmark in the history of free India For the first time a well considered Plan envisaged in the interests of the well being of the people as a whole came into being It is a far sighted plan aiming at a gradual but over-all development of the country The immediate results are already visible and have contributed to national prosperity But most of the aspects of this Plan, for instance the establishment of heavy industries, will have a far-reaching effect on our advancement A chain of National Scientific Laboratories has been set up, they are still in their embryonic stage But their establishment guarantees that India will not for long lag behind the most scientifically enlightened countries This scientific progress will in due course be correlated to the provision of greater facilities and amenities to the average citizen

The Institution of National Extension Service Blocks and Community Projects in rural areas has infused a co-operative spirit among the masses The willing participation of the people in these Projects, coupled with the efforts of the Government, has changed the face of the entire countryside New pucca roads have sprung up in regions which were previously without any link with the market places and towns

This brief resume is only a bird's eye view of the general picture of progress made so far In an introductory chapter it is not possible to dwell upon each and every detail These will find their true place in the relevant chapters on various aspects of our life Even this cursory glance at the course of events since independence shows that our Government has spared no efforts in moulding India on a socialistic pattern of society ——a society in which the well being of the people as a whole, and not the well-being of the few privileged classes, will be of paramount importance

We can safely view with satisfaction the pattern of change and the shape of new things to come The credit for all this change goes to the great organization——the Indian National Congress It was due to the Congress that Freedom dawned on our land and gave our leaders the opportunity of remoulding it with a view to ushering in a new and better order Thanks to the untiring efforts of the great leaders of this organization and the willing co-operation of its workers, it has been possible to reap the fruits of this hard won freedom

Like a mighty oak tree, with its massive trunk, its far-reaching branches, its roots penetrating into the bowels of the earth, the Indian National Congress has grown over these years, from a suave dissenting political party in 1885, to become the inheritor of a vast administrative set-up, destined to give nebulous national aspirations "a local habitation and a name " Its rugged trunk indented deep with scars overweighed with enormous responsibilities and undertakings, has had sometimes inevitably to suffer twisting and even partial decay of its remotest branches These minor lapses have often led to irresponsible carping at an organization whose past history of glorious sacrifices and present record of tangible achievements is deliberately ignored or belittled

But who can deny that India is heading towards prosperity at home and enviable prestige abroad From the position of a non-entity in the last century, she now commands a voice in the councils of the world

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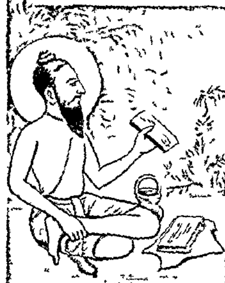
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INDIA IS REBORN









Yet Freedom yet thy banner torn but flying Streams
like a thunder storm against the wind —Byron

THE urge for freedom and self determination is as fundamental in a nation as in an individual India s struggle for national independence was the natural outcome of this instinct to win complete freedom from foreign rule The history of this National Movement has followed a chequered course since the Indians first tried to become masters of their homeland Various factors have played their role in our march to freedom Poets social reformers educationists religious leaders revivalists and enthusiastic patriots have all contributed towards the achievement of national independence

Yet though it is somewhat arbitrary to trace the origin of our National Movement to any particular incident or personality in Indian history it is appropriate to attribute the genesis of our national awakening to the social and religious reformers of the early nineteenth century One of the earliest religious leaders of this period was Raja Ram Mohan Roy whose reformist zeal was greatly instrumental in arousing patriotic instincts in many Indians Born of a Brahmin family which had acquired some reputation in the service of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal and equipped with a close study of Sanskrit Persian Arabic and English he was most ideally suited to encourage cultural religious and political awakening in India Although his efforts were primarily directed towards the cause of social and religious reforms he may also be given the credit for being one of the earliest supporters of secularism in India which was later to be the ideal of the free Indian Republic

Revivalism had however still not gathered its full momentum then Christian missionaries in India were still busy in their proselytising activities Against these encroachments upon Hinduism there appeared on the Indian scene another great personality whose reformist zeal was strongly tinged with a deeper urge to win political freedom for his country







Although Dayanand Saraswati was interested primarily in re-establishing Hinduism on a Vedic ba made it clear beyond doubt that no religious freedom could co-exist with foreign rule and alien domi He was the first to proclaim that India must be for Indians only As a powerful bulwark of natio and an embodiment of patriotic sentiments against foreign oppression, Arya Samaj has a very imp place in our national history and Swami Dayanand will always be remembered both as a rel reformer and a tireless political crusader Vivekananda was the next important figure who exert enormous influence on the younger generation of India "The Queen of his adoration", observes Nivedita, "was his motherland" According to Herr Koh, 'Vivekananda taught Young India confidence and trust in her own strength" In these efforts he was greatly helped by such Theosophi Blavatsky, Colonel Olcott and Mrs Annie Besant who supported ungrudgingly our struggle for na independence through their speeches and writings These Theosophists were greatly interested in the of the masses, and their efforts were mainly directed towards the hungry and down-trodden In one famous declarations, Swami Vivekananda said, " I do not believe in a religion that cannot wipe ou widow s tears or bring a piece of bread to the orphan's mouth I consider that the great national the neglect of the masses and that is one of the causes of our downfall"

The Indian Press and literature, both Vernacular and English, have also played a powerful rol bringing about a general awakening amongst the masses and the intelligentsia of India Mention appropriately be made here to a few of those national papers which exerted great influence in mou the public opinion against British domination *The Indian Mirror, The Hindu Patriot, The Amrita Patrika The Bengalee, The Bombay Samachar, The Soma Prakash, The Sulabha Samachar, The Sakklya Prakash, Marathi Sabodhkha Patrika, The Gujrati Samachar, The Comrade, The New India, The Hindu, The Kesari, Bangadarshana, The Arya Darshana, The Bandhai, The Tribune* and others Bankim's *Anand Math*, which us our National Song 'Bande Mataram', may be correctly designated as the 'Bible of Modern In Patriotism' All literature of a marked creative character has invariably influenced the course of poli and national events in any country, and India was no exception to this

Most of these revivalist religious movements were an expression of the national disgust and reac against foreign domination in the guise of Christian missionaries When the Indians found themse powerless to launch any political campaign against the British, they resorted to ventilating their nati sentiments through exposing the bankruptcy of Christianity Mrs Besant struck at the root of the ma when she remarked, "In truth, any movement to be strong in India must rest on a religious basis, so interwoven with religion is the very fibre of the Indian heart, that it only throbs with full response w the religious note has been struck, which calls out its sympathetic vibrations" This explains why mos these religious movements had an irresistible appeal for the masses, and later became inextricably lin with political struggle against foreign rule It may here be recalled that the inception of import political powers like those of the Marathas and the Sikhs were heralded by great religious moveme It is, therefore, not surprising to note that the genesis of our national movement was also preceded by all-pervasive wave of religious awakening

This revivalist zeal was further accentuated by certain reputed educationists who were fired with spirit of national idealism In 1885, simultaneously with the establishment of the Indian National Congre was founded the Education Society in Poona One of the founders of this Society summed up its ideals these words "We have undertaken this work of popular education with the firmest conviction and bel that, of all agents of human civilisation, education is the only one that brings about material, moral a religious regeneration of fallen countries and raises them up to the level of most advanced nations, by sl and peaceful revolutions" Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who was the Father of the Servants of India Societ

(1905), said with equal emphasis "One of the most anxious, as it is one of the most important, problems confronting us today is how to supply guidance, at once wise and patriotic, to our young men, so that their lives may be directed into channels of high purpose and earnest endeavour, in the service of the Motherland To sustain, on the one hand, the pure impulses and generous enthusiasms of youth, and on the other to instil into young minds due sense of proportion and of responsibility and a correct realisation of the true needs of the country—this can never be an easy task, and in the present days of India, it is beset with extraordinary difficulties" It was in these circumstances, when discontent was growing into disaffection that the Indian National Congress, the most potent weapon of our national struggle for freedom, appeared on the political scene But before tracing the origin and growth of the Congress, it should be more appropriate to refer to another great factor which was responsible for the deeply ingrained disgust of the Indians against their rulers We may here refer to the economic discontent which was universally prevalent amongst all classes of Indians

The demon of unemployment, and the highly provocative preferential treatment given to the English traders in India, were responsible for fanning the flame of Indian National struggle For one reason or another, Indian statesmen were firmly convinced that the British rulers were exclusively interested in exploiting India for their selfish commercial interests British domination over India, it now became clear, was basically a form of economic imperialism whose setup was designed to squeeze the maximum economic advantage for the Englishmen In the words of Mr Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (writing in 1909), "According to Indian opinion, the vice of Indian Finance lies in the fact that in India the Finance Minister looks principally to the interest not of India but of England Two English interests have to be served first the Anglo-Indian Administration and English Trade' The well-known civilian Sir Henry J S Cotton, observed in 1885 "There is no great harm in saying that the land belongs to State, when the State is only another name for the people, but it is very different, when the State is represented by a small minority of foreigners who disburse nearly one-third of the revenues received from the land on the remunertion of their own servants and who have no stake in the fortunes of the country" There were thus certain sincere hearts even amongst the British who recognized the falsity of their position in India Amongst those who were genuinely moved by the pitiable conditions of the suffering masses in India were missionaries like Dr Macnicol, who wrote frankly and unreservedly "It is not that we have not won the hearts of this people we have not even satisfied their hunger The one aim that Britain sets before herself in the government of lands like India and Egypt is the bringing to them of a material content If she has failed to accomplish that, we can boast of no success and certainly in India she has not succeeded

Some of these causes had already been responsible for the great war of national independence which unleashed in 1857 the dormant national bitterness and anger against the British For obvious reasons the British historians have always chosen to designate this great national uprising as a 'Sepoy Mutiny Although this national revolution was 'crushed' by the iron heeled rulers its impact on the national mind was too great to be effaced so soon The Indians could never forget that they had once led an armed revolution against the British might and won certain conquests This national fire, which remained smouldering since 1858, later on assumed the form of constitutional struggle against the foreign rule in India The birth of Indian National Congress in 1885, was the culmination of this course of events

The passionate claim of the Europeans to predominance came since the first war of independence in 1857 to be challenged by the passionate claim of the Indians to equality In 1881, Dewan Rangachary (1831 1883) organized a Representative Assembly in Mysore State whose purpose was to devise a popular machinery with a view to bringing the masses into closer co-operation with administrative machinery A couple of years later, a group of Bengal political workers, under the leadership of Surendranath Banerjea, initiated a move for

the creation of a National Fund which led to the holding of a National Conference in Calcutta fr December 28 to December 30 In March 1883 a distinguished British Officer, Allan Octavian Hume, w had resigned his service in 1882 addressed an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University, inv ting them to form an organization for the mental, moral social and political regeneration of the people India—a little army *sui generis* in discipline and equipment This letter exercised a profound influence all enlightened Indians and in response to this sincere call representatives from all over India decided form themselves into a group of provisional committees men from different towns to win others each in h place and to meet later for further consultation These were the forces that ushered into the political aren the Indian National Congress which was destined to win complete independence under the leadership Mahatma Gandhi Words cannot describe the sincerity and indomitable courage of Allan Hume who now known as the Father of the Indian National Congress He was motivated by a sincere conviction th no great empire could have firm foundations without first winning the complete confidence and co operatio of its subjects He placed his untiring services at the disposal of the Indian National Congress, and never faile to warn the British public against all possible misrepresentation suspicion and distress to which the nev organization was naturally exposed

It is obviously not possible to render a detailed account of the history of the Congress which embodied every possible aspect of our national aspirations In its earlier phase the Congress was merely interested in asking for greater representation of the Indians in the British Administration in India but as its programm attracted general attention of the masses it began to arouse the suspicion of the British rulers, who were now determined to create dissensions amidst its ranks

We may here add a word about the Muslim attitude towards the Congress Sir Saiyad Ahmad (1817 1898) who had established himself as an undisputed leader of the Muslim community in India, believed that Muslim interests could not be safe with the Congress He therefore decided to keep his community away from the Congress and in 1888 even founded the Patriotic Association as a counterblast to the Congress This was followed in 1893 by the Upper India Mohammadan Association This does not imply that all Muslims accepted Sir Saiyad as their leader and left the Congress fold to serve exclusively sectarian interests However the seeds of dissension had been sown and later, under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah a majority of the Muslims were to form themselves into a political party—the Muslim League

Let us however first complete a general review of the first phase of the national struggle under the gui dance of the Indian National Congress

The year 1892 forms a significant critical moment in the history of national independence This was the time when extremism and terrorism raised their ugly head Some of the factors responsible fo this outburst of violence were (a) the defeat of Italy by Abyssinia in 1896 and more es pecially of Russia by Japan in 1905, (b) the attainment of national unification and freedom in Italy under the distinguished leadership of Mazzini Garibaldi and Cavour (c) the irresponsible and repressive acts of the British bureaucracy in India including the partition of Bengal in 1905 and a significant increase in military expenditure Such national calamities as plague and famine were also instrumental in causing universal provocation amongst the suffering masses To crown all, British arrogance against Indians in all spheres of social contact and more particularly the humiliating treatment meted out to Indians in Transwal and Natal awakened India into a realization of the imperative need to wrest freedom from foreign rulers

A feeble instalment of reforms announced by the Act of 1892 did not quench the thirst of young Cong ressites for self determinati n At this moment Tilak raised his fiery voice to represent national grievances against foreign oppression In view of his outspoken declarations, he was charged with inciting violence and

sedition and clapped behind the bars But through his imprisonment he became a martyr in the eyes of the people, and *Hind Kesari*, his national paper, continued to wield an enormous influence on all Indians When in 1905 the Government announced its intention to partition Bengal, all patriotic Indians felt rudely shocked to see the British policy of divide and rule reaching its utmost limits The intention of the rulers was obviously to "drive a wedge between the two communities and to create a new Mohammadan province in which the Government was to be conducted on the basis of credal difference" A protest campaign was launched in August 1905, and it was decided to abstain from purchasing British goods so long as the partition resolution was not withdrawn. But in spite of popular verdict against this announcement, the British did not budge an inch from their programme of flouting national sentiments

Under the provocation of the British reactionary measures, the younger nationalists formed themselves into a revolutionary party under the leadership of Barindra Kumar Ghose, younger brother of Aurobindo Ghose, and Bhupendra Nath Dutt, the only brother of Vivekananda Through their papers, such as *The Sandhya* (The Twilight) and *The Yugantar* (The Transition of Ages), they incited the younger generation to violent methods of seeking redress for the humiliations and wrongs perpetrated upon the Indian masses Government officers were warned, with murders, and secret societies were formed to organize armed attacks on important Britons in India The Government on the other hand did not spare any efforts to crush under its iron heel all such revolutionary parties Sardar Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai were deported to Mandalay and the Seditious Meetings Act was passed on 1st November, 1907, to further curtail freedom of speech and association

It is here proper to pay tribute to those Indians who were sent into exile by the British authorities, or those who voluntarily left their Motherland to seek employment and freedom in alien countries

Most of these Indians abroad were treated as pariahs in foreign countries but they could not return to their homeland which they had left in quest of employment During the early years of the 20th century the Canadian Government was in bad need of cheap labour for its timber mills and other development schemes Since the terms offered were lucrative, many thousands of Indians, mostly Punjabis, offered their services as manual labourers in Canada and America When the influx of these immigrants became continuous, the Canadian Government began to impose restrictions on further inflow of Indians But those who already found themselves on foreign soils, took advantage of their freedom to organize themselves into a political organization to support the cause of national struggle at home It was as a result of these efforts that Lala Hardayal and other Indians in America and Canada started a political party named Gadar Party with the object of fomenting an armed revolution in India to throw off the foreign yoke Lala Hardayal and Bhai Parmanand, who were in America during this period, became the pioneers of this revolutionary party Soon after, branches of the Gadar Party sprang up all over America and Canada When the First World War was about to start, it decided to break into an open rebellion Mr Kartar Singh Sarabha Pandit Jagat Ram Harianvi, Babu Tarak Nath Dass, V G Pingley, Khan Khoji, and many other Indians offered their services ungrudgingly in the cause of national independence In California, Baba Jawala Singh, Bhai Sobha Singh and Baba Rur Singh undertook to recruit more volunteers and raise funds for the Gadar Party In June 1913, representatives from various parts of America met at Sacraments, the Capital of California At this meeting Lala Hardayal gave the clarion call for the national struggle and resolved to start a paper called *The Hindusthan Gadar* under his editorial guidance The paper fiercely exposed the anti-Indian policies of the American and Canadian Governments and won many a sympathetic supporter for the cause of Indian independence As a result of these revolutionary activities, Lala Hardayal was arrested in March 1914, but was later released on a thousand dollars bail Fearing that he may not be handed over to the Indian Government as a political agitator, the leading members of the Gadar Party advised him to

escape to Switzerland When the War started, the Gadar Party was only nine months old and had not yet been properly organized in Malaya, Singapore and other Far Eastern Countries Yet, in spite of all Government restrictions on their movements, hundreds of Indians abroad armed with unimpeachable national fervour, sailed for India on a Japanese ship called *Tosa Maru* But in India they were betrayed by one of their compatriots, Sardar Kirpal Singh, who disclosed all secret information to the Indian Government

During the period under review quite a large number of Indian students had joined the European Universities The racial arrogance of the English, the colour bar and a number of other factors were responsible for urging their minds to continue the struggle for the liberation of their motherland A number of secret societies were started to publish propaganda literature on behalf of Indian Independence Movement and distributed in different Western Countries Krishanji Verma was the founder of the secret society in England and he voiced the feelings of resurgent India in many pamphlets He was joined by Madam Cama, a Parsee lady from India, Ranaji of Jamnagar State and Shri V D Savarkar, who published his famous book *The War of Independence* while he was a student in London In 1907 Mr Madan Lal Dhingra, a student from Amritsar, shot dead Curzon Wyllie for spying over the Indian students He mounted to the gallows with a smile on his face while, V D Savarkar, together with his co revolutionaries escaped to France.

After the failure in 1921 of the non-co operation movement, India was all agog with revolutionary zeal which was spreading like wild fire all over the country In 1924 Gopi Nath Saha was hanged in Calcutta and in the Punjab a militant group of Babbar Akalis broke into revolutionary activities Six of them ascended the scaffold while others were killed in course of clashes with the forces of the Government Shri Ram Raju from Andhra, an ex non co operator, had organized an armed following to fight the regular military forces against whom he waged a war for over two years until he was shot in an encounter In the U P the revolutionaries raided Government Treasury and through other violent activities struck terror into the minds of the British The later revolutionary activities of S Bhagat Singh and Chandra Sekhar Azad are house-hold legends now The story of the Chittagong rebels is equally well-known Three District Magistrates of Midnapore and several other high Government Officers were killed Similar attempts were made on the life of the Editor of the *Statesman*, the Police Commissioner, Sir Charles Tegart, and the President of the European Association A Bengal graduate, Miss Bina Devi, was sentenced to 10 years for shooting at the Provincial Governor Such, in brief, is the story of the inspiring deeds of the Indian revolutionaries who remained a running sore for the British Government It is an exciting story of indomitable courage and selfless sacrifice Hundreds and thousands of India's youth mounted the gallows with a smile on their faces or died in obscurity—many of them in foreign lands But can their glory ever fade into nothingness?

"They shall not grow old, as we that
    are left grow old,
Age shall not weary them,
    nor the years condemn,
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
    We shall remember them"

It is not possible to follow in detail the undaunted campaign of the Indian patriots who fought and lost their lives in the cause of their motherland Wherever they went they carried the torch of freedom with them and never wavered or shrank in the face of repressive government measures

India was burning with violent zeal in the second decade of the twentieth century when Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene to lead India's destiny He injected into the patriots a sense of responsibility,

sobriety and provoked them into dispassionate analysis Eventually this wizard brought about unprecedented national awakening and earned the sobriquet of the Mahatma He was destined to command the Indian political stage till independence

The all India agitation against the Rowlatt Acts created the atmosphere for Mahatma Gandhi's "inevitable leadership" in 1919 These Acts attempted to perpetuate the extraordinary repressive powers, conferred upon the Government during the War, for disregarding normal legal procedure and enforcing imprisonment without trial Gandhiji launched a passive resistance movement in protest against these acts and thereafter followed an avalanche of mass demonstrations and strikes everywhere

But before we attempt to evaluate Mahatma Gandhi's earliest contribution to the Indian National politics, it should be interesting to recall Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's description of this saint statesman who, amidst violence and bloodshed, pointed towards different horizons, and spoke a language that many could not comprehend at that moment To quote Nehru 'He also joined his voice to the universal outcry But this voice was some-how different from the others It was quiet and low, and yet it could be heard above the shouting of the multitude, it was soft and gentle, and yet there seemed to be steel hidden away somewhere in it It was courteous and full of appeal, and yet there was something grim and frightening in it, every word was full of meaning and seemed to carry a deadly earnestness Behind the language of peace and friendship there was power and the quivering shadow of action and a determination not to submit to a wrong We are familiar with that voice now, But it was new to us in February and March 1919, we did not quite know what to make of it, but we were thrilled This was something very different from our noisy politics of condemnation and nothing else, long speeches always ending in the same futile and ineffective resolutions of protest which nobody took very seriously This was the politics of action, not of talk"

Under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership the popular agitation swelled into larger dimensions and there was not a soul in India who did not respond to his call for sacrifice India demonstrated her national disgust over the Government Acts through her observance of Satyagraha, all-India hartals and complete suspension of business The Government retaliated by resorting to brutality and indiscriminate atrocities on the unarmed and the innocent The ugliest mark on the record of British Government in India would always be the ruthless firing at Jallianwalla Bagh, Amritsar, under the orders of General Dyer, who later on became a symbol of British callousness and beastly inhumanity against the Indians His troops fired 1,600 rounds of ammunition into the peaceful crowd which had no means of escape Even according to official data of information, 379 persons were massacred in cold blood, with 1,200 wounded lying uncared for on the blood-stained lawns of Jallianwala Bagh, with hungry vultures casting their ominous shadows overhead Martial Law was clamped on the Punjab and the subsequent course of events shows a series of gruesome hangings, mass killing, aerial bombardments, while the courts in India rained death on non-violent political agitators His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who inaugurated the 1919 Reforms, rightly observed, 'The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the face of fair India No one can deplore those events more intensely than I do myself As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you ought to forgive and to join hands and to work together to realize the hopes that rise from today"

But whereas India, in consonance with her illustrious traditions of forgiveness, extended her hand of friendship towards the British, the rulers once again failed to grasp it The hopes that the Duke of Connaught had faintly aroused were dashed to the ground But this time the Congressites were not alone because embittered by the part played by the Britons in the defeat of Turkey and the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire in the First World War, thousands of Muslims now joined the Congress fold The defeat of and dishonour to Turkey had hurt profoundly the religious and historical sentiments of the Muslims and

loping an aggressive anti-British attitude The two Ali Brothers, Mohammed Ali and alana Abul Kalam Azad launched a mass Muslim movement known as the Khilafat

t dis ontent prevailed also among the industrial workers, particularly of the Bombay rik t the beginning of 1919 for over six months

s areaov heavy with Government atrocities in the Punjab, was fully charged when t o in Mahatma Gandhi saw in the Khilafat movement "an opportunity of hi lims as would not aris in a hundred years" His whole-hearted support for the t be u an unprecedented fraternisation between the Hindus and the Muslims" he v en the two rival communities released powerful political energies The popular tl a r rely two thirds of the voters abstained from participating in the e ections to the 10 (1920 and a enormous number of students left their institutions to take active g ion against foreign rule It was at this moment that two distingui hed lawyers, d Pandi Motilal Nehru gave up their practices to become selfless crusaders in the cipation The masses dem nstrated their support by publicly throwing English clothes lames rose hig, e, the British saw in the amber colour of the flames a symbol of the t ught till complete independence w s won from the British rulers Imprisonment tour, proudly displayed by those who had been to the temples of the Indian national ails l e B iti n Government brought the Prince of Wales to India in the hope of f l yalty for the British throne but they soon realized the futility of these designs be- Prince touched the Indian shores he was greeted with a hartal all over India

vill always be recorded as historic in the struggle for national independence It was sion at Ahmedabad that year, that the Congress announced its firm determination to s pro ramme of non co operation A wave of civil disobedience ran over the entire of Indi and the m sses expected nothe drama ic performance to be staged on the n an all-India scale Gandhiji, however decided to circumscribe the civil disobedience h trict f 7 000 people But even this course had to be abandoned as indiscriminate out at Chauri Chaura a small village near Gorakhpur in U P, where a Police-Station 22 p licemen massacred in cold blood Gandhiji was greatly disillusioned to see his an u ly shape, and he was forced to call a halt to the movement Nevertheless he and placed under six years' sentence Although Gandhiji was discouraged by the f events, he declared, 'I knew that I was playing with fire I ran the risk, and, if I ld still do the same ' One of the important items on the non-co operation pro- ere boycott of the legislature But with the discontinuance of the movement after policy was reorientated under the leadership of Motilal Nehru and C R Das These ien formed the Swaraj a Party and contested the elections to the Councils with a rm from within by uniform, consistent and continuous obstruction" But in spite of ess this policy did not achieve any tangible results

and, the suspension of the mass movement had an adverse effect on the relationship bet- d the Muslims A vacuum was created with no concrete programme to fill it Nor was [illegible] communities together and keep their minds bent on a united [illegible] itself into a secularist State under the enlightened guidance of Mustafa it naturally resulted in leaving the Khilafat movement without any ideal to pursue her dissensions arose between the Hindus and the Muslims, the intervening gulf yawned



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wider to throw the two communities apart from each other. Into the chasm jumped the British ruler whose astute political sagacity seized the opportunity to sow discord between the two communities. As the tempers ran high and the fire of communalism began to crackle with mutual antagonism, riots broke out in mad fury and cast an ominous shadow over the fair record of the Khilafat days. The Muslim League grew in power and excited the passions of the Muslims to fight for their solidarity against Hindu domination. For a moment the Congress felt betrayed but then under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi it continued, with still greater vigour, to espouse the cause of uncompromising nationalism. But there had been defections from the Congress fold, most of the Khilafat leaders joined the opposite ranks and swelled the number of the Muslim League Party. The Congress was left with no other option except to rally under its banner the remaining Muslim nationalists as a counterblast to the League precisely in the manner of the British Government which was always pitching the Moderates against the Extremists. But these efforts did not bear any tangible results in the face of the Muslim League's growing popularity with the Muslim masses.

For a moment a ray of hope appeared on the horizon in the form of a common danger to all Indians. As all the seven members of the Simon Commission were British, it was unanimously boycotted by the Congressites, the Liberals and significant sections of the Muslim Community when it landed in Bombay on 3rd February, 1928. The Congressites attacked the recommendations of the Commission on wider grounds than those of others. They argued that "it did not accord with the principle of self determination to have constitutional changes effected on the report of a Commission appointed by an outside authority". The Commission was therefore greeted with black flags at all public places thus manifesting the complete distrust of the Indians in its objectives. It was in the course of nation wide agitation against the Commission that Lala Lajpat Rai, the lion of the Punjab, received bruises from a lathi charge inflicted upon the demonstrators outside the Lahore Railway Station. It was as a result of these injuries, that the indomitable veteran from the Punjab finally succumbed to death.

Whereas the Commission fought shy of even conceding the demand for Dominion Status the Congress under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared its final goal to be nothing less than 'complete independence.' "The real thing is the conquest of power", observed Nehru, 'by whatever name it may be called. I do not think that any form of Dominion Status applicable to India will give us real power. A test of this power would be the entire withdrawal of the alien army of occupation and economic control. Let us therefore concentrate on these and the rest will follow." In the meantime Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah who had so far been an ardent supporter of the Congress cause, left the nationalist fold to demand exclusive rights and privileges for the Muslims. It was at this critical juncture that he issued a manifesto comprising the famous fourteen points in which he formulated the basis of the separate identity of the Muslims as a national unit. The Congress, bent doggedly on its nationalist ideals, refused to compromise its stand by recognising these sectarian demands of Mr Jinnah. The British Government on the other hand, seemed adamant not to show any quarter to the nationalists. Choosing a middle course between the futile Simon Commission and the uncompromising Congress Lord Irwin the then Viceroy, announced that "the natural issue of India's constitutional progress was the attainment of Dominion Status. He also announced that a Round Table Conference of all Indian political parties would be held in London to discuss the report of the Simon Commission. The Congress, however, instantaneously declared complete independence as its goal and decided to boycott the Legislature and the Round Table Conference, and explored avenues to start a campaign of civil disobedience. On the midnight of the 31st December, 1929, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the President elect of the Congress, unfurled the National Flag of India on the banks of the River Ravi, followed by enthusiastic celebrations of Independence Day on the 26th January, 1930, all over India when all patriotic Indians took an oath to stake their utmost at the altar of liberty from Foreign Rule.

This day on which the celebrations were repeated from year to year, became a day of heart searching and solemn pledges all over the country

Gandhiji launched his movement of Civil Disobedience on April 6, 1930 with his historic march to Dandi in Western India to make salt on the sea shore, in complete disregard of the State Law Regulations This was the trumpet call for sudden outburst of national excitement on a mammoth scale, involving national strikes outbreaks of violence such as the armoury raid in Chittagong, the establishment of "parallel governments in several places and the complete boycott of British goods According to Government records, there were no less than 29 cases of indiscriminate firing involving a toll of 103 killed, 420 injured and 60,000 thrown behind prison bars Touching the lowest level of inhuman brutality, the troops and policemen indulged in indiscriminate and ruthless beating of men and women to curb the national sentiments of resurgent Indians When the national movement proved too strong for the British Government, they diplomatically de[illegible] [illegible]pt more conciliatary measures The Round Table Conference, which met in November [illegible] adjourned on 2nd January, 1931, because of the complete non co-operation of the C[illegible] after the signing of the famous Gandhi Irwin Agreement on 4th March, [illegible] [illegible]nented to discontinue Civil Disobedience and participate in the second Round [illegible] [illegible]e Government withdrew its repressive ordinances and opened the prison gates to rele[illegible] all [illegible] [illegible] except those who had been found guilty of violence

At the Round Table Conference as the chosen representative of the teeming millions of India, Ma[illegible] Gandhi voiced the feelings of his motherland in these historic words 'I am here, very respectfully to claim on behalf of the Congress, complete control over the defence forces and over foreign affairs He added that India could not be held by the sword, as repeatedly claimed by the British rulers but it would be a rebellious disgruntled and inflamable India, which could at any time rise on her feet to shatter the shackles of slavery But the communal issues still hung fire and proved to be an insurmountable barrier There was no possibility of bridging the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims Taking advantage of the situation Mr Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of Britain, announced his famous Communal Award which worsened the communal situation by increasing multiplication of minorities When Gandhiji returned to the Indian shores in December 1931, he found the Government again entrenched in repressive measures Provoked by the Viceroy s refusal to grant Mahatmaji an interview, the Congress Working Committee on 1st January 1932, passed unanimously a resolution for the resumption of Civil Disobedience and the boycott of British goods Three days later, Gandhiji was arrested and the Government declared the Congress Organization to be an illegal body, and passed a further instalment of repressive Ordinances These Ordinances were challenged by the masses, and the Government, riding rough shod over the feelings of the Indians, adopted a dictatorial attitude towards the national movement According to official record more than 1,20 000 persons were rounded up by the police, and there followed gruesome scenes of wholesale violence, physical outrages, shooting and beating up, punitive expeditions, collective fines on villages and seizure of lands and property of villagers '

It was at this critical moment that the British Government once again attempted to divert national zeal by announcing some fresh constitutional proposals The Act of 1935 was a clever devise to hoodwink Indian national aspirations In the words of a contemporary historian "A Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow incubated the egg of the White Paper—which comprised only the white and empty shell without the living yolk of Dominion Status—and hatched a Bill which became the Government of India Act of 1935, when it received the Royal assent on 4th August, 1935 It was tenaciously resisted at each stage by the right wing Conservatives led by Mr Churchill in the House of Commons and Lord Salisbury in the Lords This monster child of the Mother

Parliament so reluctantly born and brought into the light of day by a Caesarian operation was characterised by Jawaharlal Nehru as "A New Charter of Slavery" His shrewed political wisdom enabled him to remark "It would be a fatal error for the Congress to accept office That would inevitably involve co-operation with British Imperialism" This strong criticism of the Act might today seem to be a little too radical but let it be remembered that the British Government, in its criminal haste, had not even shown a generous gesture to include the phrase 'Dominion Status' in the texts of the Act Couched in such soft phrases as "gradual development" and "progressive realization", it failed to attract any serious attention of the Congress Dyarchy, which had failed in the Provinces, was to be foisted under this Act on the centre The Act visualised a federation of autonomous British Indian Provinces together with Indian States, if and when at least 50 per cent of the latter willingly 'acceded'" The Central Government was to be securely invested with reserved' and transferred' compartments, with an interminable array of Special Responsibilities, Reservations, Overriding Powers and Safeguards vested in the Governor-General The Provincial Governors were endowed with similar powers to use their 'discretion, whenever necessary The Provincial part of the 1935 Act came into force on 1st April, 1937 Once again the Congress resolved as in 1922, to accept the challenge and try the reforms envisaged by the Act Like a Colossus the Congress defeated all opposition and swept the polls in seven Provinces Bombay, Madras U P, Bihar, C P Orissa and N W F P In 1938 Coalitions were formed in Assam and Sind, leaving only Bengal and the Punjab to the Muslim party But soon a rift occurred in the Congress fold with the inception of a left wing' party inside the Congress ranks under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose, who even defeated Gandhiji's nominee for the Presidentship When the more moderate members of the Congress compelled Subhas Bose to resign, he launched a new political party, called the Forward Bloc, and this open schism inevitably debilitated the strength and prestige of the Congress

The Congress Ministries, however, harnessed their efforts towards ameliorating the lot of the common masses by introducing innumerable social and economic reforms A mass contact movement was initiated to attract Muslims to join the Congress fold But this failed to win any response from Mohammad Ali Jinnah who had by now established himself as the invulnerable leader of the 'entire' Muslim Community When the Congress proposed that the possibility of a home-made Constitution through a Constituent Assembly should be explored, Mohammad Ali Jinnah jeered at it as a packed body, manoeuvred and managed by a Congress caucus" As months rolled by, the distance between the two political parties became wider, and Mohammad Ali Jinnah began to make a more frequent use of virulent and irresponsible language In one of his speeches he accused the Congress of being a fascist body, determined to impose a reign of terror on the minority, regardless of any humane considerations 'The Muslims think that no tyranny can be as great as the tyranny of the majority," remarked the Muslim Leader, but the saner elements everywhere saw that power had wormed into his brain and he was dreaming of a separate Muslim State with himself as its inalienable chief When Hitler declared War against the allies in September, 1939, the Congress Ministries resigned because they could not allow themselves to be used as stooges in the hands of the British Government in the War between two Power Blocs Mr Jinnah hailed the resignation of the Congress Ministries as 'national deliverence' from a "reign of injustice and nepotism"

The Congress refused to be drawn into idle controversies and displayed maturer political perception in preserving its energies for only the essential issues It had accepted office not to 'cool its heels" but to prove its earnest desire to better the conditions of the poor masses However, when the War broke out, India found herself in an embarrassing situation The Congress refused to toe the British line and declared openly "We are asked to fight, not because we choose to fight but because England wants us to fight—co-operation must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both considered to be

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promise of help for the liberation of India from the British Rule In 1943, he inaugurated the Government of Free India at Singapore and his soldiers marched alongside the Japanese Army upto the very borders of India Whatever one may say about Subhas Bose's brand of 'violent patriotism' it must be admitted that he was made of the stuff heroes are made, and his genuine enthusiasm for the motherland was not any the whit less than that of Jawahar Lal Nehru or Sardar Patel

In May 1944, Gandhiji was released from the Ahmadnagar Fort on grounds of health He immediately took this opportunity to get in touch with Mohammad Ali Jinnah and explored the possibility of a compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League But Mr Jinnah remained as adamant as ever 'The partition of India is the only solution," declared the Muslim Leader Mahatma Gandhi had to turn back disappointed, more so as his bonafides had been questioned by Mr Jinnah In the meantime the war clouds went on raining blood on the European battlefields and India still remained at the mercy of possible foreign invasion At such a critical moment the British Government decided to send Sir Stafford Cripps in March 1942, to conduct negotiations for a possible understanding with the Indian political parties According to the Draft Proposals of the new Mission, India was to be given the status of a Dominion with option to secede, as soon as the War came to an end A federal type of Government was recommended for the whole of India, including the States Whereas the Federal Government would handle Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communication, all other residuary powers would be vested in the Provinces and States A Constitution making body was to be instituted "immediately upon the cessation of hostilities , and the British Government was morally bound to approve the Constitution *provided* "that any Province or Provinces under it were given the same freedom to secede and frame independent constitutions having the same full status as the Indian Union " During the interim period, the British Government was to retain full control of the defence activities of India "as part of their World War efforts" As a temporary measure, the Mission proposed the establishment of an Interim National Government by a re arrangement of the Viceroy's Executive Council so as to include representative leaders of the various political parties

Mahatma Gandhi parried these brilliant strokes of British diplomacy with his wonted equanimity and inherent light heartedness In a phrase that has become well known, he described the Cabinet Mission proposals as "a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank,' on the face of it too ridiculous to find acceptance On the day the Cripps negotiations began, the Japanese took possession of the Andamans and on 6th April the first Japanese bomb greeted the Indian soil The Congress agreed to participate in a national government only if it were invested with ' full powers as a Cabinet with the Viceroy as Constitutional Head ' This was more than Sir Stafford Cripps had been authorized to accept and so he packed up to fly back to London The mission to India had run into sand

The next offer of full constitutional government came with the Cabinet Mission Plan in 1946 On the eve of the departure of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr Attlee, the British Prime Minister, announced

"My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her attain her freedom as steadily and fully as possible What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide, but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision

'I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so

' But if she does not elect, it must be her own free will The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion It is a free association of the free peoples If, on the

other hand, she elects for independence, in our view, she has a right to do so It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible "

Charged with these historic words, the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy started negotiations in New Delhi and Simla with all the leading Indian political parties But the differences between the demands of the Congress and the Muslim League were so unbridgeable that no agreement could be reached All the same the British Cabinet Mission formulated their proposals for a speedy setting-up of the new Constitution After settling details about the formation of an Interim Government, they proceeded to take up the question whether India should remain one organic unit or divided into two separate sovereign States The Muslim League demanded that their proposed State of Pakistan should comprise two areas one in the North-West consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, N W F and British Baluchistan, the other in the North-East consisting of the provinces of Bengal and Assam They based their claims for a separate State first, upon the right of the Muslim minority to decide their methods of Government according to their own wishes, and, secondly upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims were in majority, so that Pakistan could become a workable reality both economically and administratively. A close study of the statistical data showed that the North-Western area comprised the Muslim and Non-muslim population in a ratio of 62 07 , and 37 93 % respectively, whereas the North-Eastern area had the proportionate per centage of 51 69 % and 48 31 % respectively These figures showed that the setting up of a separate State of Pakistan on the lines suggested by the Muslim League could not possibly solve the minority problem Apart from these facts there were other considerations which made the division of India into two units impracticable The whole of the Transportation and Postal and Telegraph Systems of India had to be established on a united basis There would also be the difficulty of the Indian States associating themselves with one unit or the other after the division The geographical facts also offered insurmountable difficulties in the way of forming two separate units The proposed two parts of the Pakistan would be separated by 700 miles and the communication would inevitably depend largely on the goodwill of Hindustan On the other hand, the Congress put forth a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects such as Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs But this Plan also raised certain difficulties The question of the Indian States also baffled the Cabinet Mission planners, because if the Plan were accepted, paramountcy could neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government After taking all these considerations into mind, the Cabinet Mission proposed that there should be a Union of India embracing both India and the States, which should deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communication All subjects other than Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces, whereas the States would retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union Provinces would have the freedom to form Groups with Executives and Legislatures and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common The Cabinet Mission then laid down the details for the constitution-making machinery which was to be brought into existence immediately. Elections based on adult franchise were to be the guiding principle but since that would imply an inevitable delay, the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies could function as electing bodies

We need not go into any further details of the Cabinet Mission Plan because even from this broad pattern, any observer could see that it was not without many shortcomings Such a scheme made it impossible to pursue schemes of all-India concern and interests In the absence of the federal control over Tariff and Customs each Group, Province or State could easily hamper free movement of raw materials or manufactured goods from one part of the country to the other But its greatest inherent weakness lay in the danger to Defence of the whole country A weak and divided India would inevitably remain backward economically and dependent politically, even though she might be theoretically independent.

There were, however, further angry exchanges between the two leading parties over the interpretation of the Cabinet Mission recommendations After much dilly-dallying, the Muslim League announced its complete withdrawal from the Cabinet Mission's Plan The Viceroy, in accordance with his previous announcements, re organized his Council without any member of the Muslim League This political success of the Congress was too much of a bitter pill for Mr Jinnah to swallow, so he fixed 16th August 1946, as a day of 'Direct Action ' One of his followers, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, declared with a dramatic ring in his voice " We are on the threshold of a great tragedy, because neither Hindus nor the British realize the depth of our feelings If Britain puts us under a Hindu Raj, let us tell Britain that the destruction and havoc that the Muslims will do in this country will put into shade what Chengiz Khan did " And the Muslim leaders did take upon themselves the role of Chengiz Khan and let lose in the streets of Calcutta an orgy of arson, loot and rape, the like of which one fails to find in world history The flames of communal riots leapt far and wide across the fair face of India, with particular reprecussions in Bihar and the Punjab Hundreds of thousands of helpless men, women and children were massacred in broad daylight by the communal fana tics—both Hindus and Muslims—till there was complete chaos and lawlessness prevailing everywhere Shrieks day and night pierced the skies, and not a few lapsed into lunacy When Lord Wavell the then Viceroy, invited Mohammad Ali Jinnah to join his Council to bring about some kind of parity between the two political parties, the latter categorically refused to accept the offer, thus further inciting the Muslim masses to challenge law and order There was thus no other alternative left for the British Government except to accept the principle of partition To allay all unnecessary suspicion about British intentions the British Government declared its decisioh to quit India by June 1948, and sent its representative, Lord Mountbatten, as the New Viceroy of Indn, to supervise the transfer of power from the British to Indian hands This historic announcement gladdened every heart in India, except the leaders of the Muslim League, who became all the more incensed and intent upon wresting as much land from united India as possible Another wave of bloodshed and violence swept over the Punjab and North West Frontier Province These sad and unexpected developments had an adverse effect on the Hindus and Sikhs, who had so far been enthusiastic for the cause of United India They now came to realize the futility of entertaining this hope and accepted in a deterministic frame of mind the inevitability of Divided India A cry went up everywhere for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, if the Muslims withdrew their co operation from the Constituent Assembly Lord Mountbatten was installed on the Vicergal throne on the 4th March 1947, and he broadcast a declaration to the nation on 3rd June, elucidating the procedure and detail of the forthcoming transfer of power Some of the salient features of this historic declaraion were as follows —

1 If the Muslim majority areas so desired they could form these parts into a separate Union, and a new Constituent Assembly would be instituted for that object In that case, however, a partition of the Bengal and Punjab would become inevitable if the Hindu Majority areas of these Provinces offered to join the Indian Union

2 The issue of the North West Frontier Province would be decided on the basis of an impartial referendum

3 Similarly the District of Sylhet could join the Muslim part of Bengal if the people of that territory so decided after a referendum

4 Boundary Commissions would be formed to decide the details regarding the partitioning of Bengal and the Punjab If the principle of partition was accepted by both parties, the British Parliament would take immediate steps to confer Dominion Status on India and Pakistan without in any case conditioning the final decision of the Constituent Assemblies in this respect

This announcement was received everywhere with mixed feelings Whereas the nationalists deplored the partitioning of their motherland the Muslim Leaguers felt disgruntled over getting as their share only a "truncated and moth eaten Pakistan ' But in the circumstances then prevailing there was no other alternative except to agree to the vivisection of India So the Congress and the League were forced into accepting the proposals The partition of Bengal and the Punjab was supervised by two Commissions appointed by the British Government under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliff The British Parliament passed the India Independence Bill on 1st July, 1947 and appointed 15th August as the date of the transfer of power On the historic midnight of 14th —15th August a vast sub continent passed from the foreign rule into the hands of her own sons

At a special Session of the Constituent Assembly held in Delhi, India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, declared amidst deafening cheers and ceaseless applause "At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps India will awake to life and freedom A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation long suppressed finds utterance It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity " Being a talented historian himself, he had truly gauged the spirit of India's past, and in a symphonic gathering up of the old threads he went on to say At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her success and her failures Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the furture ?

But independence, Nehru knew, did not mean divorce from duties of national service Freedom and power bring responsibilities, and therefore, in the years to come there shall be endless toil, indefatigable efforts in the cause of uplifting the masses A new born country was now yoked to ceaseless hard work To quote again from Nehru's historic speech "That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfill the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to *wipe every tear from every eye* *That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering*, so long our work will not be over

"And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments "

Therefore the India of Nehru's dream was destined from the very beginning to play a decisive role in international affairs and command a voice in the counsels of the World and throw her entire weight with those other smaller countries of the East and West who were still engaged in the struggle for independence

In a message to the Press on 15th August, Pandit Nehru was to strike a more meloncholv note in remembrance of the suffering of refugees and the oft repeated pledges of the Congress made from time to time We should also think, he said, "Of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boun-

daries and who unhappily cannot share at present in the freedom that has come They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen, and we shall be shareres in their good and ill fortune alike

"The future beckons to us Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour ? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India to fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease, to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation and to create social economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman

Those were lofty ideals indeed high summits to be attained and a nation to be roused out of centuries of slumber and inertia Such a miracle was not easy to be performed How far has the Congress been able to achieve at least a substance of these dreams is a question yet to be answered But before evaluating the achievement of the Congress, we must pause here for a while to consider the insurmountable difficulties and handicaps, the Congress Government had to face at the threshold of freedom Whereas unsympathetic critics, hard hearted cynics must always growl and carp at established authority, saner elements amongst the public would not fail to discern with confidence and pride the extent of nation wide awakening brought about by the Congress since independence



and others The story of her long record of civilised existence was a perpetual source of inspiration to the people This tendency to go back to the past provided a solace that would reduce the sense of frustration and humiliation which foreign conquest and rule had produced Such a phenomenon is common to every country with growing nationalism The people of Iran, predominantly Muslim as they are, did often curiously recall the pre-Islamic days of Iran's greatness and utilised these reminiscences of the glorious past in reinforcing their nascent nationalism

I have, however, little doubt that we would have continued to look to our common past with equal pride even if we had been an independent nation But accidents of history, together with human failings and weaknesses, arrested the normal growth of this national sentiment Thereafter the Hindus and Muslims, who once owned a common culture, celebrated common festivals and followed common customs began to diverge from the old tradition more and more

The cleavage was psychological in the first stage. The Muslim upper classes came increasingly to feel that it was not proper for them to identify themselves with these, semi-religious, traditions It was emphasized that any encouragement to those traditions was diametrically opposed to the spirit of Islam Propagation of these views soon prompted the Indian Muslims to seek their national roots elsewhere. They devoted themselves more and more to the contemplation of Islam's past glories, especially in other countries , their thoughts turned increasingly to Islamic history and to periods when Islam was a conquering and awe-inspiring force in certain parts of Europe, Central Asia and elsewhere.

There was perhaps nothing harmful in such contemplation by the Muslims of their past greatness , even some Hindus admired the facts of Islamic history and recognized their bearing on the sentiments of the

Indian Muslims But the Muslims looked at this heritage of Islam in a way in which no one of the other community could do For them that feeling afforded a psychological satisfaction which was necessary to fill the vacuum caused by their growing dissociation from the old national Indian tradition

The years immediately following the Mutiny were crucial for the Muslims During this period they stood verily at the cross-roads of Destiny, as it were The ruthless repression of the Mutiny by the British had a greater impact on the Muslims than on any other community They felt that they had suffered more than others Their avo dance of Western education in the past had kept them back while the Hindus, who had not shunned this education, had got a big start in almost all the spheres of life The ending of the revolt also meant the extinction of the nominal Empire in Delhi, to whose revival the Muslims had for long looked forward In consequence, the Muslims became more intensely anti-British as well as narrow minded They persisted in their contempt for the new education and refrained from it The compelling force of circumstances had imposed on them the British rule , they had to accept it willy-nilly Even the reveries of a revival of the old order could yield little consolation Physically down and out, they were in a state of mental as well as spiritual chaos

Curiously enough, the chance processes of history and the missionary zeal of a single individual came to the rescue of the Indian Muslims and helped uplift them from the abyssmal depths into which they had plunged

The Hindus had, by and large, shown greater flexibility in adapting themselves to Western thought and mode of life This adaptability had placed them in a position of vantage and had given them a lead over their Muslim brethern, especially in the matter of government service Also, they profited by the economic advantages which they had over the Muslims all over the country Soon, however, the political consciousness and awakening of the Hindus alarmed the British, and the latter hastened to modify their attitude towards the two major communities in India The rising surge of nationalism, they realized, was backed mainly by the Hindus, whom the Government had so generously patronized till then In accordance with the principle of " balance and counterpoise," the British policy thenceforward became more pro Muslim than pro-Hindu

The reaction of the Muslim intelligentsia to this gesture of the Government might not have been favourable but for the efforts of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, an enthusiastic reformer who did his best to tone down anti British sentiments among the people of his community

Sir Syed's first efforts were directed towards the dissemination of English education among the Muslims He started the Aligarh College and secured the help of the British authorities in the execution of the educational programme which he had conceived for the Muslim community The awowed object of the Aligarh College was " to make the Mussalmans of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown ' It was, however, not without considerable difficulty that Sir Syed was able to persuade his community to accept English education He cited the example of the Hindus who had gone far ahead in education and thereby in the services This was quite a powerful argument for the Muslims to act likewise The lure of government services was strong enough to brush aside old and deep seated hatred against the British

It is one of the ironies of history that a leader who was professedly and sincerely non communalist and a champion of national unity, should have unwittingly paved the way for separatist tendencies that were to take shape later on Sir Syed was in no way anti Hindu , he was a reformer fired with zeal and ardour for awakening the Muslims from their slothful lethargy and for uplifting them But in achieving these ends, he aligned himself so closely with the British authorities that he alienated his comunity from the national organization which was then in its formative stage This alienation took place not because the national organi

zation was dominated by Hindus but because of its opposition to British rule Sir Syed met with singular success not only in spreading English education among the Muslims but, tragically enough, also in inculcating in them an indifference towards the national political movement Had this selfless and ardent leader been successful in the educational advancement of his community without breeding among its members a sense of antagonism towards the National Congress his achievement would have been an unqualified success

The work done by Sir Syed and the tradition of the Aligarh College, nevertheless, led willy nilly to political consciousness among many Muslims of the younger generation Some of them even joined the National Congress despite the preachings of Sir Syed and his ardent followers This general political awakening among the educated Muslims was a potential danger for the authorities who gave considerable thought towards its diversion into a safe channel Indeed it was with a view to stemming this urge towards nationalism pervading the mind of the younger generation of Muslims that the British Government gave inspiration for the formation of the Muslim League in 1906

In its inception the Muslim League was an organization not merely for safeguarding the interests of the Muslims loyalty to the British Government was also one of its major objects It owed its origin largely to the efforts of the Aligarh College Group The out look of the trustees of the Aligarh College was fully conservative—politically as well as socially A succession of English Principals helped not only in imparting this outlook on its alumni but also succeeded in leaving them with separatist tendencies and in encouraging in them anti nationalist and anti Congress outlook The chief aim that was kept before its students was entrance into government service—especially in the subordinate ranks

The Aligarh Muslim College soon became the breeding place of conservatism and anti nationalism And since the leaders of the Muslim intelligentsia came mostly from the Aligarh College Group it exercised considerable influence among the Muslim middle classes

The writings of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, then a youthful journalist and a budding writer of great promise in the Al Hilal and those of Maulana Mohammad Ali in The Comrade , had however a great impact on the minds of the younger generation These writers sought to clear the atmosphere of misgiving and suspicion by indicating pointedly that there was no basic conflict between Islam sympathy for Islamic countries or their past greatness and Indian nationalism Both these writers had a tremendous effect in bringing the Muslim League despite its fundamental creed of isolating the Muslims from the nationalist current nearer to the Congress In 1913 the League abandoned its motto of loyalty to the Government and adopted that of self government for India

In the nineteen twenties the nationalist movement gathered great momentum in India The Indian National Congress grew in strength and vigorously challenged the legitimacy of British rule in this country The waves of nationalism touched the minds of the younger generation of Muslims too and quite a few of them rallied to the fold of the National Congress Some of them played significant part in the country s struggle for freedom Yet there were many among the Muslims who could not bring themselves round to joining the nationalist movement because it was dominated by the Hindus and appeared to have a Hindu outlook The result was that such elements among the Muslims moved in a separatist direction with the Muslim League which was then under the powerful influence of the poet and philosopher, Sir Mohammad Iqbal The exhortations of Iqbal paved the way for the Muslim demand of Pakistan—the plan to partition India—which made a powerful appeal to the religious emotions of the Muslims Very few cared to reflect whether the fulfilment of such a plan was an effective remedy for their backwardness The cry of Islam in danger' was enough to infuse the minds of the ignorant masses with a passion for creating a holy Land for the pure' through a division of the country

The fanatical approach of prominent leaders of the Muslim League in attributing all the ills of their community to the exploitation by the Hindus, who no doubt had certain economic advantages in the sphere of industry and trade, at the same time played no small part in leading the Muslims away from nationalism Indeed, the propaganda indulged in by the League was vulgar in the extreme, devoted primarily to vituperative accusations against the Hindus There was little difficulty for the feudal elements under whose leadership the League had fallen, to depict the Hindu community as solely responsible for the poverty and backwardness of the Muslims

That the creation of Pakistan was no panacea for the amelioration of the lot of the Muslim community as a whole was clear even to Sir Mohammad Iqbal who was one of the early sponsors of the plan Towards the end of his life, the truth had dawned on him that such a scheme would not only be injurious to India as a whole but also detrimental to the interests of the Muslims whom it sought to benefit Iqbal had, it seems, given his unqualified support to the plea of partition because of his peculiar position as President of the Muslim League Subsequently be drifted away from this view to turn more and more towards socialism But once the movement had been started, it required no thoughtful analysis of its ultimate value by the common Muslims for whom religion and politics had been made to look as synonymous All this had a gradual but increasing effect in embittering and straining the relations between the two communities

The Muslim League had been started under Government inspiration in order to keep the Muslims away from the Congress After this object had been achieved and a cleavage brought about among the Muslims and Hindus, the Government set about to strengthen the barriers between the two communities At that crucial moment in India's history, the authoritarian and all pervasive British rulers introduced separate electorates for the Muslims

Muslims standing for elections were thereafter elected only by a separate Muslim electorate This isolated the Muslims from the rest of India and had a pernicious effect in public as well as social life Its vicious off shoots went down to elections to the municipal and other local bodies The greatest harm done by it was, however, psychological People came to look at things from a narrow communal point of view, forgetting the larger interests of the country as a whole By inculcating in the Muslim mind the psychology of fear, this lent yet another powerful argument in favour of their demand for Pakistan At the same time, it retarded the growth of political consciousness among the Muslims

The general elections in 1937 provided an opportunity for the Congress to form Ministries in some of the provinces of India In many provinces Congress Muslims were appointed Ministers But this representation of the Muslim community through Muslims elected as Congressmen hardly satisfied the Muslim League, which had begun gathering strength under the leadership of Mr M A Jinnah Jinnah's was a negative attitude and his influence on the League was a great obstruction to the solution of the communal problem Muslim masses, who had in the earlier decades of the century shown a tendency towards nationalism, began rallying round the local and feudal leadership, which approached them in the garb of 'Saviours of Islam' With their solgan of 'Islam in Danger —a slogan which naturally had a powerful emotional appeal for the masses—the leaders of the Muslim League did not experience much difficulty in bagging a fairly large number of seats in the Provincial Legislatures

It was at this stage, soon after the constitution of Congress Ministries, that an astonishing, rather fantastic, campaign was launched on behalf of the Muslim League against the Congress Time and again it was repeated that the Congress Governments were perpetrating atrocities' on the Muslims (It is worth noting here that these Governments had Muslim Ministers who very often held very important portfolios, though they did not owe allegiance to the Muslim League) What these 'atrocities' were and

what the grievances of the Muslim League were, was never precisely defined. Very often some local squabble which had nothing to do with the Government, was so distorted and unduly magnified as to lend it the colour of a great inhuman and heinous wickedness. In other cases some minor lapses of some department, which were soon set right, were exaggerated so fantastically as to present them as 'atrocities'. In yet other cases entirely baseless charges were levelled against the Congress Governments and the Congress organization with a view to dubbing them both as instruments of Hindu communalism.

This campaign of hurling abuses and making carping criticism of the great national organization continued unabated despite offers of inquiry made by Congress Governments and the Congress President to those who made the charges. These people were invited to furnish particulars for investigation and even to come forward and inquire themselves with Government help. The Muslim League would not deign to accept these offers for inquires. Their refusal to cooperate only showed their intrasigence and their stubborn persistence in widening the gulf between the two major communities in the country. It also revealed the baselessness of their charges. Even some of the British Governors who held offices as Heads of the various provinces during the tenure of the Congress Governments made public declaration that they had nothing to complain about the treatment of minorities. Moreover the Government of India Act of 1935 had given them abundant powers to safeguard the interests of the minorities if any such need arose.

The Congress Governments had always endeavoured to win over the Muslims and other minorities as it was to their interest to do so. Indeed so considerate was their treatment of the Muslims that other sections of the people complained that the Congress was following a policy of undue appeasement of the Muslims. But since the Muslim League was adamant in defying any reasonable consideration of any matter, its leaders, ingenious as they were, improvised new tactics for slandering the Congress. They set before themselves, as their chief aim, the hoodwinking of the Muslim masses, into making them believe that their total annihilation was under way and that the Congress was directly responsible for it. Towards the achievement of this goal, the Muslim League leaders initiated a campaign of violence and incitements through speeches and in their newspapers. Demonstrations of violence became frequent. Even when a Congress Muslim Minister was stabbed, no Muslim League leader disapproved of that act. In fact the violence, vulgarity and irresponsibility which became rampant among the newfangled fanatical members of the League were more often than not let loose by responsible Muslim League leaders themselves.

Religious fanaticism was quite potent in giving the Muslim League a mass backing and in developing it into a mass organization. That does not, however, imply that the League had the backing of all the Muslims. Many resisted its ideology and some Muslims were prominent leaders of the Congress itself, while there were many others who joined other Muslim organizations which were opposed to the basic policy of the Muslim League. None the less the League won most of the by-elections in the early forties, although a considerable number of Muslims voted against the League candidates. The virus of communalism once successfully injected into the body-politic could not but spread rapidly and show its evil effects.

The entire history of India bears testimony to the toleration, accommodation, and even encouragement of minorities. Religious and cultural toleration was inherent in India. It is, therefore, all the more curious that people should have so imbided the ideas of religious cleavage as to look upon the members of the other community as their sworn enemies. Yet it was so. Communal religious organizations and the policies and actions of the then Government of India were successful in poisoning the relations between the two communities. The imaginary fear of the major religious community swallowing others seriously began to exercise the minds of the Muslims. Obviously, the fear was that larger numbers might actually overwhelm the minority.

The Congress stood not only for national independence, it also advocated revolutionary social changes. *The communal organizations, whether Muslim or Hindu, were hand-in-glove with the feudal* and reactionary elements and were consequently opposed to any social change whatsoever Religion had in fact little to do with the conflict between the two communities, it was merely exploited by religious communal organizations to mask the real issue These organizations clung to foreign support which was interested in maintaining the status-quo

Even before the Second World War—indeed long before it—the Congress made continuous efforts to come to an agreement with Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League But the negotiations never got beyond a preliminary stage Mr Jinnah insisted that the Congress must openly recognize the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslims and should consider itself as no more than a purely Hindu organization This gave rise to a grave difficulty Whereas the Congress was prepared to acknowledge the importance *of the Muslim League, its leaders found it difficult to ignore other Muslim organizations in the country* Besides, there were large numbers of Muslims within the Congress itself Were the Congress to concede Mr Jinnah's fantastic claim, it would have to throw out the patriotic Muslims from its fold and to openly proclaim that the organization was not open to Muslims This would have resulted in reducing the great national organization to the status of a petty communal body

Mr Jinnah supported this demand on a new conception which he and his lieutenants took great pains to propound to the Muslims—that India consisted of two Nations, Hindu and Muslim It was an unrealistic conception which Mr Jinnah's ingenuity had dug out of some obsolete medieval theory It was, moreover, an utterly vague and ill-conceived notion, rather difficult to grasp All the same, the way in which it was propagated had great effect on the ignorant and emotional Muslim masses who blindly *accepted the new doctrine Matters soon came to such a pass that the existence of fear, mistrust* and suspicion among the Muslims had to be acknowledged

The eve of the Second World War found India riven with communal bickerings which occasionally manifested itself in violence and communal riots over petty issues The British Government realised that the co-operation of India was almost indispensable for winning the War It was essential for geographical and strategical reasons The Churchill Government therefore sent the Cripps Mission to India in 1942 to give an assurance to the people of this country that their whole-hearted unstinted co-operation and participation in the War would ensure them Dominion Status after the termination of hostilities This was no empty promise But the Congress had been driven, largely due to lack of vision on the part of the local administrators, to adopt an attitude of non co-operation Besides, promises coming from the Churchill Government were open to suspicion

Events thereafter began heading for a climax and it became clear that India could no longer be ruled by a handful of British officers in the civil administration or in the Army, that wisdom lay in arranging to transfer power to the Indians before it was actually wrested from Britain The Churchill Government, therefore, decided to accept what was un-avoidable On 14th of June, 1945, the Secretary of State for India made the historic announcement that the proposals of the Cripps' Mission were acceptable to the Government in their entirety Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy, made a similar announcement in India and followed it up by the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee It was further decided that the Viceroy's Executive Council should be replaced by another composed of representatives of the major political parties A conference was held at Simla to settle the details But Mr Jinnah the embodiment of Muslim mistrust, adhered stubbornly to the Two Nation concept The Muslim League claimed the right to represent the entire Muslim community and demanded the sole prerogative of nominating the

Muslim members to the Executive Council To this the Congress rightly took objection and since Mr Jinnah would not see reason, the Simla Conference proved a failure

In the meantime the Labour Government came into office in Britain and the strategy of consultations with the Indian leaders underwent a sudden change In September, 1945, Lord Pethick Lawrence, the new Secretary of State for India, announced elections to the Central and the Provincial assemblies This was a sincere effort to ascertain the wishes of the people, particularly in regard to those of the Muslims vis-a-vis the Muslim League It was further declared on behalf of the British Government that elected representatives of the people would elect a Constituent Assembly which would also have representatives from the princely States The Constituent Assembly thus constituted would then deliberate about the form of Government in free India and an agreement would be arrived at between this Assembly and the British Government

Both the Congress and the Muslim League received the announcement with reservations Nevertheless both the parties chanced the elections The result of the elections established two things In the Central Assembly both the Congress and the Muslim League candidates were returned in large numbers This gave strength both to the Muslim League demand for a separate State and the powerful Congress opposition to this demand In the Provinces, particularly in the Punjab and Sind, the Muslim League, however gathered formidable strength This lent powerful backing to the League's clamour for partition of the country

The Labour Government then sent to India the Cabinet Mission comprising Lord Pethic Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr Alexander to resolve the baffling issue of transferring power The Mission succeeded in issuing their plan on 16th of June, 1946 This plan asserted the imperative need for an interim Government composed of representatives of all the major political parties It did not favour the creation of Pakistan Instead it advocated a Union at the Centre empowered with the responsibility of dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications It also provided that groups of Provinces would be free to form their own Executives and Legislatures, which in turn would determine the allocation of subjects between the groups and the Provinces concerned The Constituent Assembly which was to frame the Constitution of the Union and of the Provinces was to be directly elected on the basis of one member per million of inhabitants

The elections to the Constituent Assembly were held in August 1946 As a result thereof, the Congress secured in a House of 296, as many as 211 seats, including many Muslim seats For reasons that were not very clear, Mr Jinnah withdrew from the Constituent Assembly and the Muslim League's elected representatives refused to take their seats Mr Jinnah had earlier refused to co-operate in the formation of an interim Government

Mr Jinnah's attitude, though reprehensible and negative, had the backing of large number of Muslims The deadlock was complete On 16th of August 1946, the Muslim League launched their Direct Action which led to a series of ugly events and soon assumed the proportions of a widespread civil war

On 26th of October, 1946, the Muslim League joined the Interim Government This certainly created a queer situation The League decided to participate in the Government while boycotting the Constituent Assembly Pandit Nehru, on behalf of the Congress, was anxious to secure co-operation on whatever terms it was forthcoming, provided it resulted in restoring efficient civil government The Congress was confronted at this juncture with two formidable problems one was to carry on the fight with Imperial Power on the issue of sovereignty of the country and of its complete independence, and the other

was the tackling of Muslim communal forces gathered under the aegis of the Muslim League which seemed intent on permitting the single choice between separation and civil war

The object of the entry of the Muslim League in the Interim Cabinet was to foil the Nehru Cabinet's efforts at unifying the country The two sections of the Government—Congressites and Leaguers—functioned as opposing blocks In order, therefore, to bring a sense of urgency to the leaders of various parties, Mr Attlee announced, on 20th of February, 1947, the firm decision of the British Government to transfer power by June 1948 Unfortunately this too had no salutary effect in bringing the opposing blocks nearer, it rather widened the gulf between the two major communities

Meanwhile Lord Wavell was recalled and, on 24th of March, 1947, Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as the last Viceroy of India Lord Mountbatten was appalled by the ugly situation in the country which was at that time seething with large-scale, though spasmodic, civil war In April 1947, there was again a violent resurgence of large-scale communal strife in different parts of the country

Resolved in his mind to find an effective remedy for this almost unceasing internecine (communal) feud, Lord Mountbatten went to England in May, 1947, for detailed consultations with the British Government On 3rd of June, 1947, soon after his return, Lord Mountbatten announced the British Plan of vivisecting the country into Pakistan and India A Boundary Commission was announced

Pandit Nehru agreed to these proposals, though reluctantly, as the right course In fact it was the only course at that time and there was no escape from it Human ingenuity was unable to devise any other means acceptable to all

THE AFTERMATH

"In my end is my beginning"—T S Eliot

AS mentioned in the previous chapter, the partition of India had to be accepted as an inevitable outcome of the two-nation theory as sponsored by the Muslim League As India stood on the threshold of Independence on 15th August 1947, she looked towards the future with hope as well as trepidation India had become free but partition had sown the dragon's teeth The tasks that lay before the new Congress Government were enormous in dimensions and presented insurmountable difficulties of all sorts The most immediate problem was how to carry on the general administration with only a handful of trained officers Most of the British I C S personnel had left the country and those who remained on the scene had to readjust themselves psychologically to the new environments Whereas during the British regime they had been the pillars of British rule in India, now they were required to shoulder the responsibilities of serving a National Government The intense zeal and patriotic fervour of the national leaders however, enabled them to overcome the initial difficulties In a very short time the Government of India was on its feet again, armed with confidence and hope to face all administrative problems

One of the greatest problems that the new Government of India was required to handle was that of Relief and Rehabilitation Millions of refugees had crossed the borders penniless and helpless Five million men, women and children crossed into India from West Pakistan alone, another 3 5 million came from East Pakistan It is true that nearly 4 million Muslims had also left India for Pakistan but the financial losses suffered by the Hindu refugees were far greater than those of the Muslim refugees Whereas these refugees had landed property in Pakistan worth crores of rupees they had come over to India with no more than bare clothes on their bodies These destitute people had to start their livelihood from scratch,

and it must be said to their credit that in spite of all kinds of tribulations they had to face they did not show any signs of dispair or helplessness The Government was called upon to face the problem of rehabilitating these refugees—a problem of unprecedented magnitude Accommodation had to be provided for those who found no shelter over their heads This immediate task of finding board and lodging for these unfortunate refugees threw all other problems into the background At one time the number of displaced people living on the dole touched a million The cost of maintaining each refugee was a heavy drain on the Central Exchequer , it meant one rupee a day per head and involved an expenditure of about 1 million rupees daily This extraordinary expenditure had to be met until the end of 1950 In all Rs 325 7 million had to be spent only on relief measures in the various camps scattered over the length and breadth of India

Since the Government could not afford to incur this colossal expenditure indefinitely, it felt the imperative necessity of finding ways and means of providing suitable employment at least for those who were educated or otherwise skilled in various technical professions An aspect of this general problem of rehabilitation was the task of providing land to those land-lords who had left their rich granaries in West Punjab In proportion to the lands they had left behind, they could be provided with only an insignificant part of land on this side of the border The total cultivable land available in the Punjab and Pepsu was 4 735 000 acres while there were as many 5,77,000 claimants who wanted immediate facilities to start the work of cultivation The Government, therefore, felt it necessary to devise schemes for ascertaining the claim of each land lord to meet his demands accordingly Most of these refugees were settled on the lands in other States of India like Uttar Pradesh, Bhopal, Bikaner etc The enormity of the task of rehabilitation was so great that even at the end of 1950, 15,000 agricultural families had still to be settled adequately

Urban rehabilitation presented a new series of problems The educated and trading classes had to be provided with suitable accommodation and respectable means of livelihood It was fortunate that the Government was in due course of time able to accommodate 2,050,000 urban refugees in reconditioned barracks, new buildings or evacuee houses Since most of the fertile lands had been left behind in Pakistan, the Congress Government was also called upon to explore ways and means of reclaiming waste land for purposes of food production These demands on the Central Treasury imposed a heavy burden on the new Government

The food problem was another great source of headache for the new Government It should be mentioned here that even during the years before independence, India was deficit in food Her population was increasing at a quick rate and the food resources did not increase accordingly Partition further worsened the position owing to loss of cultivable lands by India and the enormous influx of refugees from Pakistan With food resources already deficit, India had to feed the displaced persons who swarmed in millions into India from the Punjab and East Bengal As a result of this extra pressure on our food supply, we were forced to ask for help from such foreign countries as America and Russia This imported food in the form of wheat and rice, however, was sometimes bought at high rates, which further meant a heavy drain on the national treasury Although rationing was introduced to make it possible for all Indians to have an equitable distribution of food, this method of regulating food supplies created innumerable other difficulties Mahatma Gandhi was never in favour of introducing rationing, but like Partition it also had to be accepted as an inevitability

While the Government of India, immediately after Partition, was marshalling its resources to meet the economic, agricultural and social problems of the moment, the communal fanatics were busy creating still further problems for Nehru's Government Forgetting that the communal differences between the Hindus and Muslims were greatly responsible for the partition of this country, the Hindus and the Sikhs divided

themselves into opposite camps in the Punjab The Sikhs demanded a State of their own, while the Hindu Maha Sabhaites clamoured for Hindu Raj With the result that the social and political ranks of this border State were sharply divided into two warring camps, and for sometime there seemed to be no hope of any compromise

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had an arduous task before him in convincing his countrymen of the futility of fighting in the name of religion In the course of a famous speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly, after the partition, he said that religion and politics must be kept separate from each other because their mixture always formed a dangerous alliance "We have seen as a matter of fact how far communalism in politics has led us , all of us remember the grave dangers through which we have passed and the terrible consequences we have seen In any event now there is no other alternative , and we must have it clearly in our minds and in the mind of the country that the alliance of religion and politics in the shape of communalism is a most dangerous alliance, and it yields the most abnormal kind of illegitimate brood This combination is harmful to the country as a whole , it is harmful to the majority, but probably it is most harmful to any minority that seeks to have some advantage from it " But the minorities paid no heed to these words and they continued to foster communal tensions, which made it impossible for the new Government to pursue its various schemes of nation building The Punjab presented the grimmest spectacle of communal fanaticism The Akalis under the leadership of Master Tara Singh and the Hindu masses under their Hindu Mahasabha leaders entered the open arena to decide issues through violent means The result of this communal tension was that many anti-social elements raised their ugly heads, defying all authority, and destroying the very structure of society

When the Government's hands were full with some of these problems, the news came that the tribal invaders had crossed into Kashmir and started a reign of terror in certain parts of that State The impact of partition was felt in this border State as well When this news reached Delhi, the Government was taken aback For a moment the situation seemed to be quite hopeless The Maharaja of Kashmir had fled from the Capital in fear and despair while the tribal invaders kept marching on the road to Srinagar Pakistan was openly abetting the invaders, who hoped to overrun the happy valley of Kashmir and place it as a trophy at the altar of the new Muslim State Fortunately Nehru's Government rose to the occasion and immediately despatched troops by air to Kashmir and brought the situation under control

The Kashmir trouble was still brewing when the question of Hyderabad cropped up The Nizam of Hyderabad had for some time been openly sending money to Pakistan Now there was even the direct threat to accede to Pakistan The Nizam's forces were ready to meet any emergencies The Indian Government decided to nip the evil in the bud, and controlled the situation before it was too late How could the Congress Government allow a State like Hyderabad, which almost formed the heart of this country, to become a part of any foreign State ? The Pakistani statesmen, however, argued that since the decision to accede to one country or the other lay with the Nizam, the Indian Government had no right to force its decision on this State But Pandit Nehru, in consultation with his colleagues decided to make Hyderabad an integral part of India because this State had become, immediately after partition, a hot-bed of reactionary forces Pakistani machinations, and communist propaganda In the course of a speech Pandit Nehru said that a territory like Hyderabad, surrounded on all sides by the Indian Union and with no outlet to the rest of the world, must necessarily be part of the Indian Union Historically and culturally, it had to be a part, but geographic and economic reasons were even more peremptory in this matter and they could not be ignored, whatever the wishes of particular individuals or groups of individuals Any other relationship between Hyderabad and the rest of India would have involved continuing suspicion and, therefore, an ever present fear of conflict " Therefore, it was decided to lead police action against Hyderabad, which resulted eventually in the accession of this State to India Hyderabad was another problem created by partition and it was handled with tact, care, and firmness

Immediately after partition, India found herself surrounded by conflicting political policies of the European countries which were trying hard to win her over to this or that side of the Iron Curtain But under Nehru's farsighted leadership India soon realised that her true destiny lay not in siding with one or the other Bloc, but in remaining aloof from all international conflicts For the first few months, India did not win any recognition in the United Nations The fact that she was diplomatically inexperienced and had remained under foreign domination for about two centuries made her voice abroad rather weak and ineffective Referring to this initial disadvantage, Pandit Nehru said in one of his earlier speeches, December 4, 1947) " When our delegation went to the United Nations, it was looked a little askance They did not know what it was going to do When they found that we acted according to our own will, they did not like it We were unpopular last year at the United Nations There was suspicion in the minds of the first group that we were really allied to the other group in secret, though we were trying to hide the facts, and the other group thought that we were allied to the first group in secret, though we were trying to hide the facts

At home too the Government had to face a shower of criticism from fanatical and irresponsible critics who wanted India to take sides with one of the two powerful Blocs They argued that neutralism was a cowardly policy which avoided the responsibility of taking a bold and positive line of action in league with some Bloc After long and heated discussions in the Indian Parliament, Pandit Nehru succeeded in convincing his countrymen of the futility of jumping into the boiling cauldron of international conflict He observed in unequivocal terms that international conflicts " are not just empty struggles on a chess board Behind them lie all manner of things Ultimately foreign policy is the outcome of the economic policy and until India had properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather incohate, and will be groping It is well for us to say that we stand for peace and freedom and yet that does not convey much to anybody, except a pious hope " Therefore, he urged his countrymen to avoid interfering with power politics and remain equally sympathetic towards all countries He proposed that India should maintain closest terms of friendship with other countries unless they themselves created difficulties for her ' We intend co operating with the United States of America and we intend co operating fully with the Soviet Union because our general policy would be to avoid entering into anybody's quarrels Even purely from the point of view of opportunism, a straight forward honest policy, and independent policy would be the best He repeatedly stressed the usefulness of his policy of non-alignment, especially in view of its successful performance in the first two years of Independence In a later speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly on March 8, 1948, he reiterated, " We have stated repeatedly that our foreign policy is one of keeping aloof from the big blocs of Nations—rival blocs—and being friendly to all countries and not becoming entangled in any alliances, military or other, that might drag us into any possible conflict Some people have criticised and suggested to us that that is not a good enough policy , and that we are losing what we might get by a closer association or alliance Others, on the other hand, have criticised us by saying that while we say one thing, we act secretly or otherwise in another way It is a little difficult, of course, to give an answer to any imputation of motives, but as a matter of fact we very strictly followed the policy of not getting entangled in any kind of commitment, certainly not military commitment with any Power or group of Powers, and we propose to adhere to that policy because we are quite convinced that this is the only possible policy for us at present and in the future That does not, on the other hand, involve any lack of close relationship with other countries"

It was as a result of this policy that India, immediately after Independence, came to develop very close contacts with all neighbouring countries In spite of the fact that partition had provoked an enormous amount of communal virus, India's policy of peaceful co operation abroad enabled her to win

over even such Muslim States as Afghanistan, Persia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and other Muslim countries of the Middle East Although Pakistan had declared herself as a Muslim theocratic State, India, in spite of her secularism and neutralism, was able to offend no country On the northern, north eastern and southern frontiers, India was already heading towards establishing close political and economic relationships with Tibet, China, Nepal, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and Indonesia In fact, most of these countries began to follow in India's footsteps by discarding alliances with any of the powerful Blocs

It was India's peaceful foreign policy, which made it possible for the Indian Government to handle her domestic problems with confidence and resourcefulness India had emerged after partition as a country which had lost most of her agricultural areas to Pakistan All rich jute fields were left in East Bengal, in consequence of which Indian jute industry received a serious set-back India had also inherited machinery which had been mostly damaged during the Second World War Locomotives, rail-bogies and other heavy machinery needed immediate repairs before they could be put to any use Petrol and other kinds of fuel were scarce and due to black marketing most people could not satisfy even their barest requirement of these fuels The irrigation system of the United Punjab had also created peculiar problems after partition To India's share had fallen only an insignificant part of the rich irrigated areas

Politically, India had to face innumerable problems on the home front Hundreds of small Princely States threatened to secede from the Indian Union and form independent autonomous units of their own They claimed to have assumed paramountcy after the withdrawal of the British from India Sardar Patel, the Man of Steel, solved the States problem with shrewd understanding and great statesmanship Whereas Kashmir had started a conflagration on the border, Hyderabad nearly stabbed India in the heart by claiming independence and openly showing her sympathies for the Muslim State of Pakistan These problems would, however, be examined in detail in subsequent chapters Suffice here to say that although India had attained freedom on 15th of August, 1947, she had no smooth sailing for the next few years Pt once Nehru remarked aptly that India had as many problems as there were Indians on her soil Internationally, from a country dependent upon other foreign powers, she was able to carve out a destiny of her own The various projects which Nehru's Government envisaged in the next few years needed every one's co operation Relations between Capital and Labour had to be readjusted on the basis of mutual benefit, understanding and co operation No wonder in the face of all these problems, mostly legacies of the Partition, Nehru in the course of one of his speeches called upon the Nation to spare no efforts in leading India from chaos to order

"We have today to face not one problem, but a multitude of problems It is very difficult to decide that you will set aside all these problems and take up one or two first We just cannot, because if we slacken our attempt to solve some problems and merely concentrate on one or another, the other problems tend to overwhelm us Let us take the problem of refugees There are millions of them It is not a fundamental problem as problems go It is a temporary problem But it is of exceeding importance It is important, because a large number of human beings and their lives are involved, it is of vital significance to the nation We cannot allow human material to deteriorate and simply go to pieces" This problem, together with hundreds and thousands of others, would indeed tax India's resources to the maximum for some years to come But "we cannot escape them Not being able to escape, we have to face them like men and conquer the difficulties I am afraid in our generation (I do not know about succeeding generations) there is going to be little rest or real peace There are going to be no dividends of leisure and repose brought about for our generation The prospect before us is work, hard labour *This generation is sentenced to hard labour* That hard labour can be of the type of constructive activity which, however hard, is something that raises the community and the nation, or it may be in fruitless labour, or even evil labour, but hard labour you cannot escape Therefore, let us divert that hard labour into constructive and creative channels so that at least it may be said of this generation that we helped to build up our country to the fullest extent possible "

OUR ARMY IN ACTION

HARDLY two months after gaining independence, the Indian Armed Forces' mettle was put to a supreme test A newly freed and much distracted India made an early call on her armed forces to defend her honour and integrity And they came out of the supreme test in flying colours Indeed, their performance in Kashmir served as a much-needed-tonic to a depressed, demoralised nation, reeling under the impact of the Partition holocaust

Partition and the sudden withdrawal of the British officer-element had left the Indian Armed Forces in a disorganised state Dark prophecies by the egotistic departing British officers about the efficiency of Indian soldiers bereft of their British commanders had, at the outset, made many an Indian frankly nervous over the new Indian army's performance in the field of battle

In a way, therefore, it was providential that so early in free India's career its armed forces should have had an opportunity to prove their mettle, and that in the semi-Arctic mountainous battlefields of the North For that was the silver lining in the cloud on the horizon of free India, born in travail and it injected in the nation a new confidence in itself If its armed forces could effectively guard the nation against external aggression, the nation could struggle to its feet by hard work and sacrifice

Indian troops and airmen in Jammu and Kashmir fought other foes besides the raiders Their major battle was against the elements Fighting the raiders was the least part of the campaign No harder training ground could have been found for free India's armed forces Compared with the terrain and conditions of fighting in Kashmir, the Arakan and Assam campaigns during the last world war were almost a picnic

From the Arctic conditions in the Zoji La and Gurais in the north to the mountain to mountain fighting in Uri in the west and the steamy jungles of Jhangar in the south, Indian troops in Jammu and Kashmir spanned a wide range of terrain and climate

Foremost, the Indian army in Kashmir fought against thin tenuous lines of communications, quagmired by rain, obliterated by land slides and choked by winter snows

The 200 mile long Jammu-Srinagar road is a geometrical nightmare , this was the life line of troops in the Kashmir valley as well as of the civilian population Keeping this road functioning in fair weather and foul was the battle in which Army engineers and the Pioneer Corps engaged themselves

War in the Uri sector really meant fighting up and down and on the top of a series of mountains eight to ten thousand feet high Clearing a road block in this sector amounted to clearing up the enemy perched on the top of the high mountains, flanking in waves on either side of the road He who took the offensive in this sector had first to demolish these piquets

In winter they were snow-bound and yet throughout the winter of 1947 and 1948, Indian troops—many of whom had never seen snow in their life—kept vigil here, vigorously throwing back the enemy s repeated attempts to penetrate into the Kashmir valley.

Further north around the Zoji La and Gurais, the fighting conditions were nearly Arctic all the year round This is the erie land of blizzards and avalanches The term " Zoji La " itself means in the Kashmiri language, " Blizzard Pass " Here our piquets were perched on mountains 16,000 to 17,000 feet high perpetually covered with snow Living at these heights was a new and strange experience for the jawans

At this altitude breathing becomes hard and one is often afflicted with headaches , it takes three hours to brew tea and four hours for potatoes to get half boiled and one hour for a chappati to be baked Cooking rice and pulses and meat at these heights was, of course, out of the question

Whenever the weather was good, cooked meals were sent up to the piquets from the base Mules and porters threading their way along bridle paths and goat-tracks were the only medium of supplies to our troops in this sector

Leh, in distant Ladakh in the north-east, could be reached only at the end of a month's trek through difficult mountain-paths Aircraft flying to Leh had to be equipped with de icing and oxygen apparatus Airlift operations had to be carried on at incredible heights and although the aircraft available were unsuitable for high altitude flying, the IAF pilots maintained regular supply and successfully defied the rigours of Himalayan weather

Nestling in the foothills of the Himalayas, Jammu Province is the watershed of many streams which go to swell the great Indus The country is broken by ravines streams and rivulets It is thickly wooded and covered with tree and shrub, making concealment easy In the rainy season vast stretches of country are reduced to quagmire

All these natural and logistic barriers the Indian Army conquered This was an outstanding military achievement But the people of Jammu and Kashmir admired the Indian Army for another reason They will remember with gratitude the Indian Army's war against disease and epidemics in their midst, while the network of modern roads touching the remotest parts of the State—which are their roads to prosperity—will be a standing monument to the Indian Army's good work in the State

The Die is Cast

When on October 25, 1947, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Shri Hari Singh, sent an SOS to the Government of India, the fate of the entire State hung in the balance The plea for immediate military aid was supported by Sheikh Abdullah, the then undisputed leader of the people of the State On October 26, the Maharaja signed the instrument of Accession , the same day the Government of India took the momentous decision to send military aid to Srinagar

On October 27, the first batch of Indian troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel D R Rai flew to Srinagar They flew because that was the only medium of transport left to them, at such short notice By land, they would have reached their destination too late Some 300 miles of precarious fair-weather road lay between India and Srinagar

Over a hundred civilian aircraft were immediately mobilised and assembled overnight in Delhi's Safdarjang airfield to fly troops equipment and supplies to Srinagar It was an inspiring spectacle to watch the hectic activity at this airport A shoal of silver winged planes gleamed in the morning sun, as jungle-green clad men worked like ants loading the aircraft with men, guns, ammunition and equipment Air force and civilian pilots and ground crews rose to the occasion and worked day and night to make the air-lift a success The ferry service to Srinagar continued unabated upto November 17, during which time 704 sorties were flown from Delhi

Seldom in the history of warfare has an operation been put through with so little previous planning and with so many handicaps Lines of communication were almost non existent and intelligence of enemy strength and dispositions was nil Indeed, when the first troops were flown for Srinagar, they were instructed to circle over the airfield before landing, lest they should land on a strip already captured by the enemy The instructions to Col Rai were not to land if there was any doubt on the point, and to fly back to Jammu After an interval of tense suspense lasting nearly two and a half hours, wireless flash from Srinagar announced the safe landing of the first wave of troops

On October 27, when the first wave of Indian troops under Col Rai landed in Srinagar, the invaders were already in Baramulla hardly 35-miles from the capital Col Rai's orders were to defend the airfield and consolidate his position On landing, however, he found himself faced with a dilemma He had to take quick decision—the enemy was at Baramula, the strategic bottleneck which opens into the Srinagar valley Once the invaders were allowed to enter and fan out into the Srinagar plain, the game was up Should he give immediate battle to the invaders, estimated at anything between 3,00 and 5,000, at Barmula, with his woefully inadequate force or wait till adequate reinforcements arrived ?

Col Rai took the decision and crashed into the invaders' column at Baramula It was an act of great courage Commandeering civilian buses, he rushed his troops within two miles of Baramula Holding one company in reserve, he put in an attack with another company This was the first action fought by the new Indian Army of free India, and it straightaway drew blood, in that the commander of the small gallant band himself fell But the action produced the desired result—the enemy had been staggered, disorganised and halted in his advance long enough for reinforcements to arrive from India

The situation in the first week of operations in Kashmir can best be described as " touch and go " The threat to Srinagar continued even increased For the Indian Army, it was a critical week of desperate struggle to gain time until adequate numbers of troops were flown in from India That struggle took the shape of a series of offensive delaying actions During this first week, the Indian Army suffered its second officer casualty when Major Sharma was killed by a mortar bomb exploding near him

The turning point in the battle for Srinagar was the arrival of one squadron of armoured cars which adventured their way to Srinagar by the perilous 300 mile road from the East Punjab via Jammu and the 9,000 foot high Banihal Pass and over ricketty bridges fit only for light tourist traffic In Srinagar, large crowds lined the route and loudly cheered the cavalcade as it rumbled past

On November 7, the process of rolling back the enemy from the gates of Srinagar began, with the newly arrived armoured cars playing a pivotal role in the operation The battle of Shelatang that followed lasted twelve hours and set in motion the enemy's precipitate retreat, and the raiders did not stop running until they reached Uri

The next stage in this 14-month operation was the fighting in the Jammu sector which witnessed some of the fiercest battles and most tenacious resistance from the raiders Here the Indian Army's task was further complicated by the hordes of refugees crossing their path or demanding shelter and protection

The battles of Jhangar, Naushera and Rajauri and the defence of Punch are the landmarks of the campaign in Jammu, which claimed the life of an outstanding soldier and commander of high promise in the person of Brigadier Usman, who led his men to victory but himself was killed in the famous battle of Jhangar Here too fighting against odds and the elements, the Indian Army, ably assisted by the Indian Air Force, steadily pushed the enemy back to the border.

The battle of Kot set in motion a chain-reaction in Jammu that culminated in the battles of Naushera and Jhangar Brigadier Usman launched the attack on Kot by first light on February 1 and by 10 O clock this feature, overlooking the Naushera-Tawi valley, was captured, the enemy fleeing, leaving behind 150 killed and 200 wounded.

As if avenging this defeat, the hostiles massed their strength for a major assault on Naushera itself The attack was launched on February 6, and the biggest battle of the Kashmir campaign was fought Under cover of darkness just before dawn, 4,000 hostiles stormed the Indian positions south-east of Naushera, while another 3,000 attacked from the north-east Simultaneously, some 5,000 hostiles attacked two of our pickets north-east of Naushera The enemy flung himself on to our positions in waves They used medium machine-guns and mortars in batteries as also a large number of light machineguns and a quantity of grenades All the attacks were repulsed After two hours' fierce fighting, the hostiles broke battle and ran helter-skelter

It is estimated that 15,000 hostiles attacked Naushera in three waves About 2,000 of them were killed Vast booty was captured Indian casualties were 29 other ranks killed and 90 other ranks wounded

The Indian success at Naushera was followed up by an attempt to recapture Jhangar The decisive battle for the recapture of Jhangar was fought at Pirthal The hostiles who were entrenched on this hill, put up a stiff fight, but ultimately their resistance collapsed in the face of a determined attack by the Indian forces With the recapture of Jhangar, the main land route leading into the Naushera valley was secured and the enemy's supply line disrupted

Meanwhile, beleaguered and isolated Punch held out gamely in the face of repeated enemy assaults An airstrip was constructed in Punch and supplies were flown in to feed not only the Garrison but thousands of refugees taking shelter in that town

But Jhangar was continuously menaced with artillery fire from the enemy On the night of July 3, the shelling of Jhangar was more intense than usual Some 600 shells were pumped into the Indian positions in Jhangar One of them killed Brigadier Usman, the hero of the Battle of Naushera He was the first Indian Brigadier to be killed in the Kashmir campaign

Winter Fighting

During the winter months, the Indian Army in Kashmir fought two enemies Holding the raiders at bay was easy Throughout the winter months, the raiders got no quarter Every attempt by them to break through or bypass Uri was beaten back resolutely But the Indian Army had to put up a grim and heroic struggle against the elements

A majority of our troops had never seen snow before Nor were they armed with special snow-fighting equipment With the blocking of the only land route to Srinagar by snow and the stoppage of the air service the supply situation became acute

In many countries troops are given special training for snow-fighting and issued special equipment In the peculiar circumstances in which Indian Armed Forces were flung into battle in Kashmir, there was hardly any time to train or suitably equip them for fighting in arctic conditions

The Indian Army s victory over the elements constituted a fresh chapter in its glorious history, already replete with feats of endurance and bravery Far from yielding ground to either enemy, Indian troops in winter actually improved and consolidated their positions on the snow-bound Uri-front

During these difficult months, the Indian Army in Kashmir largely remained on the defensive, confining itse to long-range reconnaissance and offensive patrolling Its battle against the elements was fought by lone piquets perched on snow clad mountains and by petrols venturing out into uncharted country, breasting the blizzards and hailstorms

In the middle of January a party of 1,500 raiders, moving along the north bank of the Jhelum, concentrated on the other side of the Mahura power-house, intent on seizing or disrupting it

Our troops threw a steel cable across the 100 yard width of the Jehlum, and with the aid of ropes and pulleys, got across the river under cover of darkness Their heavy equipment and ammunition were ferried The column then fell on the raiders at dead of night Asleep and taken by surprise, the raiders fled in disorder Among the killed was their commanding officer

An Indian patrol composed of young men of 18 and 19, who had just passed out of Boys' Companies, launched a surprise attack on a raider-held feature north of Uri and expelled the hostiles after a bayonet charge The raiders counter-attacked, using 1,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition and fifty 3 inch mortar bombs but were repulsed by the youths with the aid of artillery

After the engagement, 92 enemy dead were counted Twenty of them wore regimental badges of the Frontier Force Regiment of the Pakistan Army The number of wounded was also heavy The boys had been sent out with instructions only to reconnoitre the enemy position on the feature, but they were so enthusiastic that they went further and finished up with a bayonet charge which gave the Indian forces possesion of the feature

The raiders made repeated attempts to storm our piquets Every time they were beaten back Failing either to break through or bypass Uri, the raiders advanced over the track linking Muzaffarabad with Tithwal and made for Handowar, in the northern approaches to the Srinagar valley An Indian column met them there and dispersed them, recapturing some of the villages that had fallen into their hands

In March, as winter began to wane, the activity of Indian troops was gradually stepped up The raiders were in occupation of a series of high commanding features around Uri and north of Mahura, and constituted a threat to our positions Two columns set out from Indian bases on a " feature-hopping " expedition

Covering 30 arduous miles from their starting points, the two columns played havoc with the raiders' lines of communication to their hill piquets, isolating them from their bases

The brunt of the battle against winter was, however, borne by Indian Army drivers and sappers In the past, for four winter months of the year, the Banihal Pass, choked with snow, used to remain closed to traffic The Madras Sappers and Miners valiantly strove to keep this pass, the bottleneck of the Jammu Srinagar road, clear of the snows The drivers worked overtime and without rest in order to bring supplies to the snow-besieged city

Fourteen miles on either side of the 150-yard Banihal tunnel was a veritable death trap The tunnel was repetedly sealed off at either end by 30 feet of snow A handful of sappers and miners, armed with bull-dozers, picks and shovels, hardy drivers and ill clad local labourers were the heroes of this battle

On occasions, the sappers worked from seven in the morning till two next morning without rest pulling out vehicles buried in the snows They suffered from sore feet, frostbite and chilblain

Thanks to their efforts, from December 22 to the end of March, three convoys, consisting of a total of 300 vehicles, got through to Srinagar Each time, however, a few vehicles at the tail end of the convoy got stuck and remained buried in the snow The snow fell so thick and fast that not even a 15 foot long pole pierced into the snow mounds could touch the top of the buried vehicles

The snowing started on December 22, and by December 25, the road on the Banihal stretch was impassable A convoy of 25 three tonner lorries, carrying 200 refugees and supplies, was caught in the snow, some inside the tunnel, others outside After enduring much hardship and with some loss of life the refugees were rescued and marched beyond the danger zone a few days later A similar fate overtook another convoy of 13 vehicles in February

The Banihal Pass was opened once again in the middle of January and one convoy passed through each way For one month thereafter the pass was again blocked It was opened for the second time on February 20 and was sealed off again on February 22 It reopened on March 5 to close immediately after The pass finally cleared on March 28

Though the winter battle had been won, the melting snows brought forth a new problem for the Indian Army engineers and lorry drivers to contend with While the Banihal Pass was cleared of snow the 200 mile tenuous road, hewn in the side of the Himalayan ranges, was now plagued with landslides Large chunks of mountain, with trees, boulders and all, slipped on to the road and completely obliterated it

The sappers and the pioneers were kept busy sweeping these chunks of mountain out of the way as supply convoys were held up

While it froze and covered the Kashmir valley with a white mantle, winter appeared in a different guise in Jammu Here it was all slush and quagmire created by the winter rains which impeded mobility and made life miserable for our troops Abnormal rains even swept away bridges along the life-line from Pathankot and constricted supply to the troops

Thus while the Kashmir front hibernated, the activity in Jammu intensified, thanks to the advantages enjoyed by the enemy on this front, in the shape of shorter, better and more numerous lines of communication

As against the single 75-miles road that the Indian army possessed from Jammu to Naushera, which was repeatedly rendered unusable by the winter rains, the raiders relied on shorter lines of communication

consisting of the first class all-weather Jhelum-Mirpur road and Sialkot-Jammu road, besides numerous other tracks, to supply their troops

Stung by their initial reverses against the Indian Army and enjoying as they did many material advantages, the hostiles in Jammu occupied themselves during the winter months in spirited counter-attacks In their own territory they were well entrenched, while our troops remained on the defensive, owing to the limitations imposed by winter

Winter also gave our commanders for the first time, some respite to think and plan and regroup Kept on their toes from the moment the troops landed in Srinagar on October 27, they were kept hurrying about plugging in leaks in the hastily prepared defences, relieving encircled State Force garrisons and rescuing thousands of non-Muslim refugees

Maj Gen Kalwant Singh GOC, Jammu and Kashmir Force, had to build up a fighting machine from scratch even while he fought a well prepared and resolute enemy Now he gradually geared that machine for planned offensive operations

Srinagar had been rendered safe The menace to the Pathankot Jammu line of communication had been effectively removed By a forward policy and the institution of a chain of piquets, the Pakistan-Jammu border had been largely sealed off against nuisance raids from across Our forward positions had been consolidated The situation in the territory already held by the Indian Army had been stabilised and normal life restored

The task of looking after and administering relief to thousands of rescued refugees also largely fell to the lot of the Indian Army

A winter gave way to spring, the back had been broken of all these problems, and Gen Kalwant Singh now planned to move forward

The Indian Army in Jammu and Kashmir was now poised for an offensive

North-Eastern Front

The raiders plans for the summer lay in the north-easternly direction Losing all hopes of piercing the Indian Army's steel ring in the west at Uri and in the south-west in Jammu, they sought new adventures *in the remote*, semi-arctic, barren districts of *Baltistan* and *Ladakh*

Between those districts and the Kashmir valley stood the gaunt, forbidding Himalayan ranges, with a few difficult, fair-weather, snow covered mountain tracks serving as the only link Their very inaccessibility made those districts safe for the activities of the raiders, putting them beyond easy range of the Indian Army's attentions

The raiders projected summer campaign had three objectives, aimed at dispersal of our forces—opening two more fronts one in the north via Gurais and the other in the north-east via Zoji La, and "bagging" as much territory as possible in Baltistan and Ladakh Gurais and Zoji La are the northern and north eastern gateways respectively to the Kashmir valley

All winter the raiders built up Gilgit, their possession in the northern frontier area, as the base for their summer campaign Columns of raiders moved down from Gilgit and infiltrated southwards and south eastwards

By January, the pressure on the small State Force garrison in Skardu increased The garrison, commanded by Colonel Shar Jung Thapa and consisting of two companies, held out pluckily against waves of attacks from the raiders Accompanied by a large number of refugees, the garrison shut themselves up in the Skardu fort The raiders encircled the fort and bypassed it on their eastward movement towards Kargil and Ladakh

Repeated attempts from Srinagar to send relief to the besiedged Skardu garrison were foiled by the difficult nature of the country, particularly in winter The relief columns had to trek along snow covered mountain tracks On the way the Muslim porters sometimes deserted, and the columns were harassed by the enemy

Though neither reinforcements nor supplies in any appreciable quantity could reach Skardu, the garrison, ordered to fight " to the last man and last round," held on grimly

In the meantime, bypassing Skardu, the raiders overpowered another small State Force garrison at Kargil and then captured Dras, and thus cleared the way to Ladakh and Leh, its capital, the coveted objective on the eastward drive

When the raiders infiltrated into the Ladakh district and skirmished with State Forces, the threat to Leh became imminent The remnants of the State Forces dotted all over the Ladakh valley fell back on Leh to strengthen the defence of the town From Srinagar were sent two officers and 15 other ranks to prepare the defences of the town A party of Buddhist soldiers of the Indian Army had also been sent to Leh in February

On May 24, Air Commodore Mehar Singh undertook the most daring operation yet in his colourful career—a flight to Leh along an uncharted route, at 23,000 feet and over the world's highest mountain ranges He flew without even oxygen Accompanying him on the flight was Gen Thimayya Mehar Singh landed on a rough improvised strip in Leh, constructed by a Ladakhi engineer, 11,554 feet above sea level

Studying the situation on the spot, Gen Thimayya decided to fly in reinforcements immediately Two companies of Gurkhas were flown to Leh by the IAF in May and June

These measures were taken in the nick of time On July 11, 1,000 raiders, armed with a 3 7 howitzer, launched an attack on the outposts of Leh The attack was repulsed As the pressure on Leh increased the demand for supplies and reinforcements became insistent and urgent Once again, the difficulties of terrain and the winter conditions were the major obstacles

There were two land routes to Leh The one from Srinagar passed through the snow covered 11,578 foot high Zoji Pass and through Kargil Only 40 out of the 230 miles of the route was motorable The rest of the journey had to be performed on horse or on foot The route wends its way between and up and down bleak snow mantled mountains With Kargil in enemy hands, this route was out of the question The second route to Leh was from Manali in East Punjab which was equally difficult and circuitous, running over 200 miles through thick jungles and Himalayan ranges

Speedy help was the need of the moment IAF transport planes became once again the only resort Dakotas, fitted up with improvised oxygen apparatus, opened a ferry service between Sringar and Leh Landing on a strip, 11,500 feet high, was no picnic The aircraft kept their engines running while unloading and reloading for if the engines were switched off they might not restart at that altitude

The Leh garrison energetically built up its defences with the help of the supplies flown in by IAF Ladakhi Muslims and Buddhist volunteers were organised and trained into a local militia to fight side by side with the Indian and State forces

Almost simultaneously with their eastward drive the raiders moved down south from Gilgit into the Gurais valley and passing over the Razdhanangar Pass (11 586 feet) got to Traqbal overlooking Bandi pura in the Wular Lake region 35 miles north of Srinagar

The first air strike towards the north of Wular Lake came on April 28 1948 in the shape of a concen trated attack by Tempests on the enemy position in Traqbal which lies six miles north of the Lake and 14 miles south west of Gurais A large cluster of houses which formed the centre of enemy activity in that area were bombed and destroyed The discovery of this target was entirely due to the vigilance and eagle eye of a Tempest pilot who spotted fresh track marks on snow leading to these innocent houses Under difficult flying conditions sustained and effective offensive air raids were carried out until the capture of Gurais exactly two months later

Gen Thimayya in the meantime got ready to meet this threat from the north Soon after the devastating air strike which had driven the enemy out of Traqbal Army engineers started building on a jeep track to Traqbal 10 000 feet above sea level

The first jeep motored to Traqbal on May 21 mules and porters carried ammunition and supplies another eight miles to Razdhanangar where was established the base for our operations Two infantry battalions and a mountain battery were concentrated for the job Facing our troops and entrenched in the Gurais valley were five companies of the Frontier Constabulary 250 Chitral Scouts well armed and equipped and led by regular army officers including State Force deserters with intimate knowledge of the country

Gurais is a valley through which flows the Kishenganga dominated on either side by a series of ranges of the Himalayas running parallel to each other and nowhere below 11 000 feet, with most of them snow covered all the year round D Day was June 25 The operation largely consisted of climbing up and wrest ing from the enemy a series of steep snow mantled features The process began with the capture of two Hills 12 857 feet and 11 978 feet high respectively and culminated in the conquest of the forbidding 14 218 foot high peak Kesar This peak was assaulted by Indian troops in a blizzard in the middle of the night

Wet and shivering the Indian Army troops kept up the momentum of their advance under a hail of machine gun and mortar fire and were in Gurais by June 28 Behind the capture of Gurais lies the story of phenomenal endurance and perseverance by the Indian Army troops and their engineers It was a mountain eers war fought in arctic conditions Indian troops were poorly clad for that kind of winter Fortyfive mules died in the cold and the mountain guns had to be man handled in blizzard and snow

The fleeing raiders left behind a trail of their dead The raiders also lost heavily in equipment and supplies The most precious booty captured by our troops was the Frontier Constabulary blankets Almost following on the heals of our advancing troops Indian Army engineers unrolled a jeep track from Bandipur to Gurais a distance of 42 miles within four weeks

In the north east the raiders penetrated the Zoji La and infiltrated into the Sonamarg valley The Patialas guarding this gateway to Srinagar reacted energetically They immediately engaged them and chas ed them beyond the Zoji La The Patialas mounted guard at the Zoji Pass by establishing piquets at 16 000 foot high peaks while a jeep track crept towards them from Sonamarg

On August 14, the Skardu garrison was at last overwhelmed and surrendered to sheer weight of numbers The State Force troops resisted till the last, with no hope of either relief or victory

Ladakh Campaign

As the precious summer months were fading out, the Indian Army had the satisfaction of securing the safety of the Kashmir valley against invasion from the north and the north east But two important jobs still remained outstanding

Both the tasks had to be accomplished before winter, if a calamity were to be averted These were (*a*) reopening the road from Srinagar to Leh and removing the menace to the Buddhist district of Ladakh, and (*b*) the relief of the Punch garrison, which had gallantly held out for a year against repeated assaults and whose position was getting precarious under intensified pressure from the besieging forces

The Zoji Pass, 64 miles north east of Srinagar, which links the Kashmir valley with Ladakh is dominated by high peaks on either side and is about two miles long, debouching into the Gumri basin

Indian troops effectively controlled the western approaches to the Zoji La, but the raiders held three ridges around the pass These three ridges had to be cleared of the enemy before the Indian Army could advance towards Kargil, an important junction of the raiders' line of communication from north Ladakh

With plenty of time to choose their defensive positions, the raiders had sited their weapons to cover the defile along which our troops would have to advance, while on a sheer cliff known as ' North Ridge, ' far down the centre, they had mounted a mountain gun to command the whole pass

The first attempt to break through the Zoji Pass was made early in September While Patialas were ordered to hold to their positions flanking the Zoji La, one battalion of Gurkhas was to carry out a diversion along a left hook to Dras via Botkulamgunj, and a company of another Gurkha battalion, setting out from Pahalgam, was to demonstrate towards Suru Mahrattas and Jats were to carry out a frontal assault

The Gurkha battalion advancing to Botkulamganj came up against glaciers and found the tracks shown on the map non existent It had therefore to be withdrawn The Gurkha company demonstrating towards Suru encountered heavy opposition The main column captured a feature on the other side of the pass on September 6 It was, however, recaptured by the enemy The Indian column then advanced on a two-battalion front

On the night of September 13 14, Mahrattas and Jats attacked two features They reached within 30 yards of their objective but were pinned down by heavy enemy fire The Indian column suffered very heavy casualties—one entire company was involved, and on the following day fighting patrols were sent out to bring them out

The operation was called off when it was realised that enemy caves positioned on the side of cliffs could not be reached by the trajectory of our artillery, nor could air support be effective in the circumstances There was also no room for manoeuvre The enemy was holding precipitious heights His positions on the edges of cliffs were difficult to climb

It was then decided that movement from our side was possible only by night or under cover of fire from tanks The first alternative was ruled out as the hours of the night would prove insufficient for the completion of the operation

The second alternative was workable, if only the tanks could be brought up to this height and all the distance from Jammu The tanks could sit in the pass with impunity, ignoring the enemy small arms fire, and

blanket his bunkers with shells, while our infantry advanced But if tanks were to be brought, a road had to be constructed

The bold decision was taken In less than two months, the Thangaraju road—named after Major Thangaraju who planned the project—from Baltal to Zoji La, was laid down At places the road had to be hewn out of sheer rock

From Jammu to Baltal, seven Stewart tanks travelled a distance of 260 miles incognito and under strict secrecy They were covered with shrouds to conceal their identity On the way, the tanks negotiated the frail Ramban bridge From Baltal to Zoji La, the tanks negotiated their way around slippery hairpin bends and up a gradient of 3 000 feet in four miles

D Day was October 20 Rain and snow on October 20 compelled postponement of the operation, and at one time it looked as though it could not be launched until the following spring November 1 was fixed as the last possible date for launching the operation, because any delay beyond that date would have made stocking across the Zoji La impossible, as the pass became blocked with snow in December

Fortunately the weather cleared up in time, and under the natural cover of cloud, the tanks moved out at 10 a m on November 1 It was snowing as the tanks mounted the Zoji La track From the jeep-head the road constructed by our sappers meandered forward for two miles Whether any track existed beyond that point nobody knew

The tanks moved forward, crossed Zoji La and gingerly stepped on to the " no man's land " in the Gumri basin Solely relying for guidance on air reconnaissance reports, the tanks forged ahead through snowdrifts, glaciers, mountain streams and over boulders to reach the foot of Chabutra Hill

The enemy opened up a barrage of fire, which recochetted harmlessly off the tank armour Then the tank guns barked and systematically destroyed about 25 enemy bunkers and seized full control of Gumri by midday Behind the tanks, the infantry moved in without much opposition

The enemy was surprised and demoralised by the sight of the tanks in Gumri, which he had never expected At 9 p m on November 1, Patialas under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sukhdeo Singh, set out from the Gumri basin Walking surreptitiously throughout the night, a company of Patialas reached Machhoi and covered the enemy from behind

On finding themselves encircled on all sides, the hostiles were completely demoralised Those who tried to flee were good targets for our riflemen, others surrendered and saved their lives On the " North Ridge ' our troops found a dismantled 3 7 howitzer The enemy was obviously trying to carry it in parts while running away to safety

Covering over ten miles of rugged terrain infested with enemy snipers, the Patialas reached the Dras plain on November 15 The next day the Patialas celebrated Guru Nanak's birthday in Dras, which was attended by Gen K S Thimayya, GOC, 19 Division The Patialas collected the children of the villages and distributed sweets to them

During the entire operation IAF aircraft gave close support to our marching columns and strafed enemy dug in gun and mortar positions on the mountain slopes on either side of the defile in Zoji La as troops pushed forward IAF aircraft also dropped thousands of leaflets on Dras and surrounding areas advising the local population not to abandon their homes

Continuing the mopping up of hostile pockets beyond Dras, Indian troops, on the morning of November 23, established positions at Kargil, the important trade and communication centre situated on the track leading to Skardu in the north, Dras and Srinagar in the west and Leh in the east

Meanwhile, from the other side, consolidating their positions in the Nubra valley, Indian troops cleared hostiles from Khalatse, 50 miles west of Leh Khalatse, situated at the track junction from Gilgit and Skardu in the north west and from Srinagar, Dras and Kargil in the south-west, is the gateway to Leh

Now, only 45 miles of tortuous snow-covered mountain track lay between our troops in Kargil and those in Khalatse Moving along this track, an Indian Army patrol from Khalatse established contact with Indian forward troops at Kargil on November 24 The Indian troops then busied themselves with combing out the region for hostiles

Thus the land-link between Srinagar and Leh was established after nearly six months

In the meantime, in the western front of the Kashmir valley, the raiders made a herculean effort to pierce our defences at Tithwal Preceded by heavy shell fire, hostiles, over 2,000 strong, launched a two-prolonged attack on our forward positions south and south-west of Tithwal on the morning of October 13 Indian troops went into action immediately and in the battle which lasted four hours, they threw the enemy back inflicting on him heavy casualties

Later in the day, after reinforcing themselves, the raiders, under cover of a heavy concentration of artillery and mortar fire, mounted two more attacks, accompanied by a diversionary attack from another point Our defences stood firm, and the raiders went back, losing more men Late that evening, the raiders came for the third time This time they attacked our positions in the area south south west of Tithwal, and were again repulsed

Having failed in their attempts to dislodge the Indians from their forward positions around Tithwal, the enemy kept up a barrage of 25-pounders and 3 7 howitzers Up to 5 a m on October 13, the enemy had fired 3,000 shells and an equal number of mortar bombs This was one of the heaviest shelling that our troops had encountered in Jammu and Kashmir

The next day, the enemy, assuming that our troops had abandoned their positions again approached our forward piquets at 7-30 p m He was dispersed summarily

IAF aircraft gave close support to our troops during and after the attack and accurately engaged hostiles' known gun positions and concentrations

" Cease-Fire "

When the voluntary, informal " cease-fire " came one minute before midnight on New Year's Day, the Indian troops in Kashmir were still fighting the cruel northern winter beyond Kargil, struggling on their way to Marol, another road-junction from Gilgit and Skardu to the Ladakh valley in the south east

In Jammu, the link-up with Punch had been made firm and permanent Thus after 12 months of siege, the gallant garrison had been relieved

The story of the defence of Punch is a saga of courage, endurance and grim tenacity of purpose—of sheer will to survive in the face of overwhelming odds In this brilliant achievement, the IAF shared the honours with Brig Pritam Singh's gallant men and the thousands of refugees living with them

For over a year, wave after wave of well-armed fanatics—at one time, as many as three rebel brigades and five to ten thousand Pathans—supported by 25 pounders, 3 7 howitzers and 4 2 inch mortars, lashed against the Punch garrison holding a tiny bit of ten square miles, ringed by pine-clad hills The enemy paid for their temerity by losing 2,628 killed and 3,876 wounded

The relief of Punch was accomplished on November 21, 1948—exactly one year after the entry of the first Indian troops into Punch Punch was being garrisoned by Jammu and Kashmir State Forces, when on November 21, 1947, Lt Col (Later Brig) Pritam Singh led 1 para Kumaonis to Punch from Uri With them were 40,000 refugees The morale of neither the State Forces nor the refugees was high in the circumstances Completely cut off by the hostiles, the only hope was an air link with the outside world For that an airstrip was needed Six thousand refugee volunteers, men, women and children, worked day and night to complete a rough airstrip in a week s time

On December 8, Air Vice Marshal Mukherjee and Air Commodore Mehar Singh landed the first aircraft—a Beechcraft—at Punch On December 12, the first Dakota landed on the strip The IAF had now started ' Punching '—a phrase coined by the boys of the air, signifying rushing in urgently needed supplies and flying out refugees Among the most welcome gifts they brought was a battery of mountain guns

Punch s battle for survival took a turn for the worse when in March, the enemy, for the first time, brought up 3 7 howitzers That put the airstrip directly under fire and Punch's " window " to the world was sealed off

It was then decided to put 25-pounder guns into Punch to neutralise the enemy's mountain guns On March 21 while enemy shells whizzed and whistled around them, the Air Force landed the 25-pounders in moonlight One of the shells hit a Dakota Brig Pritam Singh himself, who had gone to the airstrip to meet the gallant pilots, was wounded in the leg but he carried on

With the aid of the 25 pounders, the Punch garrison managed to push the enemy's mountain guns out of range of the airstrip and went over to the offensive By the third week of April, the garrison had gone forward and captured the village of Kheri Dharamshal, and with the extension of our perimeter, Dakotas were able to resume the ' Punching " operations in May

Thousands of refugees were evacuated by air Still there was not enough food to go round and raids were made into enemy held territory with the sole object of procuring grain for the starving population

The food stocks of the garrison were dangerously low The troops had to live on a 16-ounce ration of chapaties and dal There was no meat or vegetable Whatever milk ration was left with the troops was given by them voluntarily to the 6,000 refugee children who badly needed it Tinned milk and rations for refugees were also sent by Western Command and by the Government of India, while Army doctors in Punch worked day and night combating disease and ill health among the civilians and the cattle

In August, the hostiles launched their most determined attack yet on the Punch garrison They brought up field, mountain and anti-tank guns, and during the month twice attacked, in battalion strength each time Although held by only one company of our troops, the attack was beaten off and a counter-attack stabilised the situation

Thereafter, the hostiles refrained from any large-scale direct frontal attacks, and resigned themselves to the less ambitious alternative of tightening the siege and starving the garrison to surrender They put

their field guns in commanding positions and contented themselves by shelling the airstrip On September 2, the airstrip was once again put out of action except for a few landings by Harwards But the Air Force Dakotas managed to drop supplies to the Punch garrison

It was cloudy and misty when on October 10, a formation of three Tempests piloted by Flight-Lieutenant C G Devashar, Flying Officer G B Cabral and Flying Officer D J Cannel took off to escort a Harward aircraft to Punch While Flying Officer A E Newby was preparing to land his Harward aircraft, one of the protecting Tempest pilots noticed some flashes in the distant mist below Soon it became obvious that the enemy guns in the locality which had shelled Punch airstrip continuously for many days had opened up The Tempests which were waiting for this spot of luck went all out to plaster these gun positions Two suspected gun positions about nine miles south-west of Punch were attacked and silenced A 25 pounder gun position located by the flash of the firing was similarly treated The area soon after was covered with a cloud of dust

One of the aircraft paid its exclusive attention to another gun position in the close proximity of the target attacked by another pilot, thus silencing three out of the four spotted guns An hour later, two more fighters visited the area and attacked the surviving gun position For days, following this feat of superb observation and airmanship, not a shell dropped on Punch

It was ultimately decided to establish a permanent land link with Punch, whatever the cost The link-up was accomplished in the third week of November, with a comparatively small cost On the day of the link-up there were still 10,000 refugees in Punch But with the liberation of 3 000 square miles of territory, it was hoped that they would soon be able to resettle on land and look after themselves

As a result of the link-up operation, one entire division of the hostiles had been scattered to the winds Confirmed casualties of the enemy alone totalled 363 killed and 633 wounded compared with 13 killed and 62 wounded on the Indian side Fourteen hostiles were taken prisoners, including one Subedar-Major and one Jemadar The haul of arms was equally impressive

After the accomplishment of the Punch link up, there still remained one job on hand for the Indian Army in Jammu Far behind our line, in the Riasi district there existed several isolated pockets of hostiles These had to be mopped up

The State Forces were directed to take on this task On November 16, a State Force column moved into Riasi and captured Budil, a hostile centre, without much opposition and then the district was systematically combed out and the hostiles' resistance was stamped out

In the first week of November, the Indian Army was called upon to deal with one more threat from the raiders, this time from an unexpected direction A lashkar of raiders was reported to have infiltrated through the Himalayan ranges east of the Banihal Pass and reached Zaskar

A column consisting of Indian troops and a detachment of Jammu and Kashmir militia was sent out from Kishtwar to meet the raiders After swift initial progress, the column was held up for three days in the Umasi Pass (17,400 feet) by a snow-storm Refusing to be halted by the elements, the column struggled forward and surprised the raiders in their bivouac, who broke up and fled without giving battle abandoning 22 mules loaded with supplies

Worsted all along the line, the hostiles now gave vent to their discomfiture by resorting to sporadic and intense shelling of our positions At the same time, they feverishly built up for a counter offensive As many as 400 vehicles were observed in one sector on a single day The hostiles also stepped up border raids

Their new tactics were to strengthen their positions for miles along the frontier and to swoop into the State territory and run back across the border after doing the maximum damage

Having accomplished their appointed tasks in Jammu and Kashmir the Indian Army was now again on the defensive While every enemy attack on our positions was resolutely repulsed, Indian troops, under strict orders from the Army headquarters, refrained from embarking on any fresh offensive operations But the Air Force kept a strict vigil over enemy territory Enemy concentrations were strafed around Kotli and Bagh with the object of dissolving their build up for offensive activity in western Jammu

On December 14 —while the cease-fire was still under negotiation between India and Pakistan—the hostiles laid down the biggest artillery bombardment of the campaign on our positions around Naushera Between 11 15 a m and 8 p m that day, the hostiles fired 2,500 shells into an area of seven miles' radius of Naushera At the farthest point, they picked on targets at Beri Pattan ten miles south-east of Naushera

The shelling continued through the night with varying intensity and was resumed next morning Altogether the hostiles fired well over 5,000 shells in this bombardment Their targets included Beri Pattan, Seri Naushera, Notidhar, Kaman Gosha, Gurund Gala, Kalal and the much-shelled Chhawa ridge

The bridge at Beri Pattan was hit and our life-line from Jammu to Naushera remained cut for two days Otherwise, the damage done was surprisingly small in terms of human lives and military targets

Simultaneously Pakistan s Sherman tanks fired at our positions from an area two miles south-west of Sadabad They were engaged and dispersed by Indian gunners IAF aircraft on reconnaissance also encountered heavy ack-ack fire from 40 mm anti-aircraft guns

Feats of Daring

The Indian Air Force played a magnificent part in the Kashmir campaign In the difficult mountanous terrain, with almost non existent road communications, the IAF's services proved invaluable whether as the medium of speedy transport or as air support to ground troops

Early in the summer of 1948, when the Indian Army was planning its new offensive, it was decided that the enemy should be deprived of the use of the vital Domel and Kishenganga bridges which linked his forward positions with his main supply bases to the west The IAF was called upon to undertake this hazardous and delicate task The two bridges were well concealed by nature and well defended by heavy ack-ack guns The task was accomplished, in which Indian fighter pilots proved daring marksmen

As the front in Kashmir extended northwards to remote inaccessible areas, the IAF's share of the fighting proportionately increased A column of reinforcements on its way from Manali via a tortuous route to Leh lost all contact with its base Two IAF tempests took off from Palam on contact reconnaissance sorties to locate and protect the missing body of men The aircraft flying through foul weather and over some of the world's most mountainous regions, spotted our troops, dropped messages and scouted the route ahead for any lurking enemy who might have attempted to ambush them

Bombing and strafing sorties were sent out over Gilgit and other subsidiary bases as well as the routes of advance of the enemy These bombing expeditions to the arctic north involved hazardous flying over lofty Himalayan ranges, skirting the mighty Nanga Parbat itself The raids began in the middle of July, and by the end of August, reports indicated that the enemy's wireless stations and huts adjoining military barracks had suffered heavy damage IAF Tempests also bombed and strafed hostile concentrations in Skardu The airfield at Gilgit which hummed with activity was visited twice in two months and direct hits with rockets were obtained on barracks lying to the east of the airstrip

IAF fighter pilots on reconnaissance over enemy-held territory in Kashmir observed a well maintained airstrip and a hangar at Chilas, 40 miles south of Gilgit, as well as movement of enemy troops concentrated in the fort at Chilas Two Tempests attacked the airfield with rockets and bombed and cratered the strip The timely, sustained and systematic air operations over Chilas had a far-reaching effect on the shape of future operations For reports had it that Pakistan was feverishly building up this air base with a view to using it for air attacks on Indian positions in Kashmir

The part played by the IAF in the battle for Punch is a saga of daring, perseverence and improvisation

The Himalayan terrain, unfamiliar climate and a complete lack of communications converted the operations to a logistical feat The Jammu Srinagar road and the Jammu-Jhangar road were the only lines of communication available to the Indian Army The former road zigzagging its way through the Himalayan ranges had a limited capacity and was subjected to serious interruptions during the winter months The road to Jhangar was no more than a rough fair-weather jeep track

The Indian rail-head and ' Admin ' base for the operations was the third-rate railway station at Pathankot, woefully inadequate for the gigantic task it was suddenly called upon to undertake The road between Pathankot and Jammu was no more than a fair-weather track cut up by numerous unbridged rivers and streams

The single tenuous 300-mile line of communication from Pathankot to Srinagar was taxed to its capacity to feed and supply the troops already in Kashmir a well as to meet the essential needs of the civilian population of the valley In the winter months even this road broke down, choked with snow

The " Admin " staff pitted ingenuity against mechanical handicaps and produced marvels of improvisation , IASC drivers worked over-time to deliver the much needed goods at the front-line, sacrificing sleep, rest and comfort , the engineers worked day and night to provide new lines of communication

Inadequate transport in Kashmir was another problem With the approach of winter, snow and rain descended on the State The Banihal Pass was blanketed with snow and the road connecting Pathankot and Jammu was cut up Motor transport vehicles equipped with skid-chains moved forward perilously, braving heavy rains on the road and severe blizzards at Banihal There were accidents and casualties, but the flow of supplies continued uninterrupted

The most spectacular IASC story of the campaign was the maintenance of Leh The IAF, which made history by landing supplies at Leh, could meet the barest requirements of our armed forces at this isolated point It was the IASC which had to carry supplies for a distance of 203 miles on thousands of hired ponies and porters over the bleak Himalayan ranges and along tricky tracks

The war against disease and epidemics in Jammu and Kashmir was the Indian Army's " Second Front " The Indian Army Medical Corps did not confine their activities to extracting bullets from war casualties and healing the wounded and sick among the Indian troops Wherever they went, they also took on the task of looking after the health of the local civilian population Hygiene sections and anti-malaria units of the front-line teams prevented diseases by maintaining a high standard of sanitation and checking the spread of diseases from local inhabitants to the members of the fighting forces This was one of the reasons why the Indian Army was popular among the Kashmiri villagers The Indian Army symbolised sense of security, apart from bringing to the villages free medical aid and high standards of health and sanitation and opportunities for lucrative trade

The cease fire came into force at midnight on the first day of the year 1949, which brought to a close a 15 month gruelling campaign for the Indian Army Launched within a month and a half of the country's freedom, under every imaginable handicap and without any planning whatsoever, the Kashmir campaign was a fiery test for free India s Armed Forces

To their former skill and traditional efficiency was now added a new patriotic fervour The combination enabled the Indian officer and soldier to work veritable miracles Mere efficiency was not enough , a high sense of patriotism alone could have conquered the formidable obstacles that the Indian troops met in Kashmir and Jammu

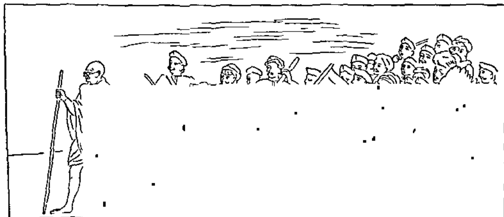
They exploded many a copy book theory of logistics and contributed new and valuable chapters to their war experience On airstrips which had been pronounced by experts as unfit for fighter aircraft to operate from, IAF pilots landed Spitfires and Tempests and took off Over roads and bridges declared impassable for heavy military vehicles tanks moved and went into action

At Zoji La when the raiders reported back to their headquarters that they were being attacked by tanks the Commander—according to an intercepted enemy wireless signal—declared it impossible and disbelieved his troops Indian Army roads snaked their way close on the heels of our troops, up hill and downdale

When the Cease fire came, the Indian Army had the satisfaction of laying a ring of security around the State of Jammu and Kashmir

When the raiders were sent down the Domel road in October 1947, Srinagar was their supreme objective Fourteen months later after all the expenditure of blood and treasure, they were as far away from obtaining that objective as ever

The Indian Army s steel ring around the Kashmir valley was now complete and secure The raiders had been chased out of the north eastern district of Ladakh In Jammu, they had been pushed back very fast until they found themselves desperately clinging to a strip of border territory in the west



TRAVAIL AND TRIUMPH

THE two-nation theory, which was the genesis of the division of India and which caused the catastrophe of 1947, had a humble origin In January 1933 a group of four Muslim students of Cambridge University published a pamphlet under the florid title, "Now or Never" The pamphlet, written with the passion and intolerance of youth, demanded a separate home-land for Indian Muslims who were described as a separate "nation" The prime mover in the affair was Ch Rehmat Ali an undergraduate of the University

Earlier in 1930, Dr Iqbal, while presiding over the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League, had said "I would like to see the Punjab, N W F P, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of the North-West India" But what Iqbal said did not imply the carving of an absolutely autonomous State for Indian Muslims Writing about it, Edward Thompson, who had earlier attributed the idea of Pakistan to Iqbal and had been corrected by the poet, says in his book "Enlist India for Freedom," " he set my misconception right After speaking of his own despondency at the chaos he saw coming 'on my vast, undisciplined and starving land,' he went on to say that he thought the Pakistan plan would be disastrous to the Hindu community, disastrous to the Muslim community 'But I am the President of the Muslim League and it is therefore my duty to support it' After Iqbal's death his name and prestige were exploited by the protagonists of the Pakistan idea to bolster their dogmas

Ch Rehmat Ali propounded the idea that the Punjab, N W F P, Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan should be amalgamated into an independent unit to be called "Pakistan" This was dismissed at the time as

chimerical and impracticable by representative Muslim leaders like Zafrulla Khan, Dr Khlifa Shujaud-Din, Yusuf Ali, etc It is generally believed that Ch Rehmat Ali was acting under the promptings and with the funds of India Office Despite the fact that the Muslim Delegation to the Round Table Conference and the witnesses examined by the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee in 1933 neither espoused nor even took interest in the Pakistan idea, the British Conservative Party and its Press highlighted it in every possible manner and made it out to be a development of the gravest import * "The Pakistan view of Muslim politics, however, remained confined to a handful of young Muslim students, and Chaudhary Rehmat Ali did nothing further except that in July 1935 he circulated a fresh four-page leaflet from another Cambridge address'

The Government of India, Act, 1935, made major concessions to the Muslim community, and it was felt that the factors that had stood in the way of settlement between the Congress and the dissident Muslim section had been removed In 1936 the All India Muslim Conference under the leadership of Mian Fazli-Husain sponsored a new non communal economic programme for all communities There were indications that efforts to bring about settlement and harmonious relations were bearing fruit But at this stage the All-India Muslim League under the presidentship of M A Jinnah decided to step aside and to gather together extremist elements among the Muslims In July 1936 Mian Fazli Husain died suddenly, and this left the field open for Jinnah and his Muslim League

The elections of 1937 gave a thumping victory to the Congress The programme of economic and social reforms which it was pledged to implement threatened to wean away Muslim masses from the fold of the extremists The League was alerted Jinnah who till a few years back used to ridicule the Pakistan scheme and who had described Chaudhary Rehmat Ali as an irresponsible person, now grabbed the idea, and without explanation or reasoning became its most uncompromising protagonist

The Muslim League had a windfall in the discontent caused by the official celebration of Gandhi Jayanti and Tilak Day, the hoisting of the Congress flag on public buildings and schools, the use of Criminal Law for the prevention of cow slaughter by a Provincial Congress Government, the controversy over the Chandur Biswa Murder case and the appointment of Congress Muslims who did not have the support of Muslim legislators as ministers The League fomented this discontent, and launched virulent propaganda from the pulpit, the public platform, and the Press against the Congress, decrying it as a Hindu body Pamphlets and books were written to rouse passions The Pirpur Report, Fazl ul Huq's 'Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule" the Shareef Report, the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee Report, and similar other publications incensed the Muslim masses against the Hindus with whom they came to associate the Congress Governments Jinnah preached relentlessly the doctrine of hate and fear to the inflamed people, and communalism invaded and shattered the entire field of Hindu-Muslim relations, so laboriously built by saner minds

The League succeeded in its objective The Muslim mind came to be dominated by the idea of a separate State There could be no compromise with the Congress, hence there must be division of the country

In 1938 the Sind Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution to the effect that "It is absolutely essential in the interests of abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment and political self determination of the two nations, known as Hindus and Muslims, that India may be divided into two federations viz, Federation of

*Pakistan by Dr Shaukat Ullah Ansari, page 8

Muslim States and Federation of non-Muslim States" In 1939 the Working Committee of the League elaborated it by saying: "The developments that have taken place, especially since the inauguration of the provincial constitution based on the socalled democratic parliamentary system of government and the recent experience of over two years, have established beyond any doubt that it has resulted wholly in a permanent communal majority and the domination by the Hindus over the Muslim minorities, whose life and liberty, property and honour are in danger, and even their religious rights and culture are being assailed and annihilated every day under the Congress Governments in various provinces. While Muslim India stands against exploitation of the people of India and has repeatedly declared in favour of a 'free India,' it is equally opposed to domination by the Hindu majority over the Mussalmans and other minorities and vassalisation of Muslim India, and is irrevocably opposed to any federal objective which must necessarily result in a majority community rule under the guise of democracy and parliamentary system of government. Such a constitution is totally unsuited to the genius of the peoples of the country, which is composed of various nationalities and does not constitute a national state." The main resolution of the Lahore session of the League in 1940 ran as follows

> "While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolution dated 27th of August, the 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1938, and the 3rd February 1940, on the Constitutional issues, this session of the All India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India
>
> 'It further records its emphatic view that, while the declaration dated 18th October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan will be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is formed with their approval and consent
>
> "Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principles, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign and that adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and, in other parts of India, where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them"

The cleavage was final and unbridgeable. All talk of reservation and weightage in services, representation in legislature, safeguards and guarantees for Muslim interests was put a stop to. The idea of a composite State was dropped for ever. Jinnah declared unequivocally "The goal of the All India

Muslim League is that we want to establish a completely independent State in the North-west and eastern zones of India with full control on defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency, exchange, etc We do not want under any circumstances a constitution of an All India character with one Government at the Centre We will never agree to that If you once agree to it, let me tell you that the Muslims would be absolutely wiped out of existence We shall never be a feudatory of any power or of any Government at the Centre so far as our free national home-lands are concerned Muslim India will never submit to an All India constitution and one Central Government The ideology of the League is based on the fundamental principle that the Muslims of India are an independent nationality and that any attempt to get them to merge their national and political identity and ideology will be resisted The policy of the League is to endeavour to promote goodwill and harmony among other peoples on the basis of equality, fair play and reciprocity This can be secured by agreement with other peoples and parties and states with the object of achieving collective security and orderly development of the people living in different states as well as among the different free states as members of a comity respecting each other's rights "*

The demand for Pakistan ripened into mass hysteria during the six years that followed the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League In 1946 the British Labour Government sent Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr A V Alexander to India to use "their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible " The Cabinet Mission, assisted by the Viceroy, strove for two months to find a workable compromise But it failed It had, therefore, to make its recommendations independently of the parties concerned

The Pakistan scheme in all its forms as put before the Mission was rejected " 'Pakistan' as the Muslim League would call their State, would not consist solely of Muslims It would contain a substantial minority of other communities, which would average over 40 percent, and in certain wide areas would even constitute a majority, as for instance, in the City of Calcutta, where the Muslims form less than one third of the population Moreover the complete separation of Pakistan from the rest of India would, in our view, gravely endanger the defence of the whole country by splitting the army into two and by preventing the defence in depth which is essential in modern war We, therefore, do not suggest the adoption of this proposal "

The Cabinet Mission recommended a three-tiered political structure the Union Government consisting of an Executive and Legislature empowered to deal with essential subjects like External Affairs, Defence, and Communications, Federations of such provinces as may like to join with one another for purposes of administration and Provinces with complete internal autonomy except in respect of subjects reserved for the Union or Central Government The League at first accepted the Scheme but later rejected it It had recourse to "Direct Action " Killing of Hindus and burning of their properties started in Calcutta on 16th August, 1946 For three days the Leaguers wallowed in murder, loot and rape Then came the retribution The Hindus retaliated Calcutta was a veritable hell for a fortnight Similar orgies took place in Bombay, Noakhali, and Bihar Tens of thousands of persons were massacred and property worth several crores of rupees was destroyed

In the meantime the Cabinet Mission Scheme, which had been accepted by the Congress, had taken the first strides A Constituent Assembly had been elected and an Interim Government formed with Pandit Nehru as the Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council The League turned another somersault. It decided to join the Interim Government But that did not cause it any compunction against pursuing openly the "Direct Action" politics on which it had launched The two groups in the Government, i e, the

* Inside Pakistan by K L Gauba, pages 31-32

To each cultivator with a family of average size a plough area, i e, land that a pair of bullocks could command, was given If a family had more than two adult workers, additional allotment was made according to a scale fixed for the purpose Land was given only to groups, and individual members divided it among themselves This scheme of temporary allotment was designed to ensure quick distribution of evacuee land, to enable refugees from particular areas to remain as closely together as possible in the hour of their misfortune, and to make for pooling of resources for harvesting the standing crop and for sowing the new one These objectives were largely fulfilled By the end of March 1948, a total allotment of 21,96,466 acres to 2 00 ?33 families was recorded

Under the temporary allotments scheme land was given to all cultivators irrespective of their status or the rights enjoyed by them in the districts from which they had come This led to misgivings about the intentions of the framers of the scheme, who were suspected of taking advantage of the situation to project a collectivist experiment Besides, the conservatism of human nature, which fights shy of new ideas and tends to prefer familiar patterns insisted that the old order be restored as far as possible

The policy of resettlement, therefore, came to be directed towards distributing evacuee lands among the refugee landholders and it was felt that rehabilitation of other rural refugees would be effected in the rural process of reproducing the pattern of land rights of the immigrants This set bounds to the rural rehabilitation scheme But though now defined, the work did not diminish in magnitude or complexity

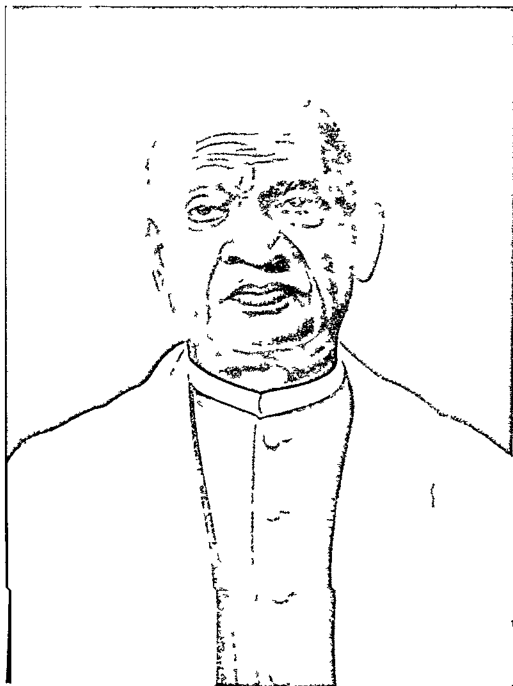
During the first few months of 1948 all evacuee lands in East Punjab and East Punjab States were pooled for purposes of distribution The Governments of East Punjab and West Punjab came to an agreement with regard to preparing copies of revenue records on a common basis for each other s use The exchange of records was completed in a few months beginning with November 1948

For fifteen months thousands of revenue officials of East Punjab and PEPSU laboured on the land claims of the refugees in the Rehabilitation Secretariat at Jullundur, which looked like a tented township Each claim was verified against the revenue account received from Pakistan No less than 6,17,401 claims were scrutinized and assessed The claims of every owner in respect of holdings owned by him at different places were then consolidated with a view to making a single allotment to him This was a very difficult but necessary task Determined effort at last bore fruit, and material was ready for telescoping the consolidated claims into actual allotments

Against 53 lakh acres of cultivated land left in West Pakistan only 38 lakh acres were available in East Punjab and East Punjab States The situation was made still more difficult by the fact that the irrigated area abandoned was immensely larger than what was at hand for distribution Compared with 43 lakh acres of irrigated land claimed—of which 25 55 lakh acres were perennially irrigated—only 13 lakh acres of evacuee holdings were classed as irrigated, out of which not more than 4 33 lakh acres received perennial irrigation Again, the land abandoned was generally much superior to the land available for distribution The work of adjusting the claims against the resources was therefore a very difficult one, and required an ingenious formula for its successful completion The formula was invented by S Tarlok Singh, Director General Rehabilitation, Punjab

The formula has come to be known as the Standard Acre The quasi permanent scheme of settlement according to which the claims of displaced landholders were settled equitably became possible only through the valuation unit of Standard Acre How it was arrived at and what it means is explained by its author as follows

Trial and error the yield of wheat assumed at settlement for each class of land in each assessment circle in different districts of West Punjab, East Punjab and PEPSU was



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taken as the starting point. Wheat is a well-nigh universal crop for which the requisite yield data was available in settlement reports Where wheat was of relatively lower importance, a rough equivalent was established between wheat and the local cereal crops A soil valuation key, setting the value at so many annas against so many maunds of yield per matured acre assumed at settlement was adopted The key gave an approximate value according to conditions prevailing at the time of settlement This was then considered with reference to changes in cropping developments, in irrigation and other factors such as higher cost of production on land irrigated by wells The final valuation of each class of land in each assessment circle was fixed after examining other comparative data and detailed discussion Sixteen annas of value were described as a 'standard acre" Thus two acres of land valued at eight annas make one standard acre. As a unit of value, therefore, the standard acre can represent different areas according to the type and situation of the land valued Similarly full ownership rights were rated at sixteen annas and allownace was made for lesser rights such as those of occupancy Something like 2500 valuations of land in about 400 assessment circles and groups of villages and a very large number of different classes of rights under Colony and non-Colony tenures were successfully dealt with through the standard acre Calculations were generally made to 1/64th of a standard acre".

After all the verified claims and the available resources had been computed in terms of the standard acre, it became easy to decide on the scale to be adopted for making land allotments Claims aggregating to 39,35,131 standard acres had to be accommodated within the 24,48,830 standard acres that could be found for allotment. There was a shortage of 38%, and this had to be shared by all the claimants The broadest shoulders must bear the heaviest burdens, and the scheme of graded cuts which was finally approved demanded heavy sacrifices from the bigger landed interests More than 80% of the claimants had owned less than 10 standard acres each, and only 2 per cent had possessed holdings larger than 60 standard acres The small holders had to be shown the maximum consideration while the farmers holding between 10 and 50 standard acres, who formed the backbone of the Punjab peasantry, could not be sacrificed The scale of graded cuts, which was evolved after careful deliberation, was as follows

*Grade (Standard acres)				Rate of cut	Net allotment at maximum of grade (Standard acres)
Up to 10				25%	7½
More than	10	but not more than	30	30%	21½
„	30	„	40	40%	27½
„	40	„	60	55%	36½
„	60	„	100	70%	48½
„	100	„	150	75%	61
„	150	„	200	80%	71
„	200	„	250	85%	78½
„	250	„	500	90%	103½
„	500	„	1,000	95%	128½

*Quoted from ' Rural Settlement in Punjab by Tarlok Singh

Above 1,000 standard acres an allottee received 50 standard acres for every thousand abandoned by him This meant, for instance, that a displaced landholder who had abandoned 4,000 standard acres could get only 326½ The cuts were based on practical considerations and had no political or reformist objectives Nevertheless they put an end to the large holdings which were a conspicuous feature of rural life in West Punjab

The quasi permanent scheme of resettlement had to reckon with the temporary allotment that had taken place earlier It would not have been wise to set the whole population moving again from district to district From the beginning a general principle had been laid down that refugees of common origin should be settled in the same district as far as possible, and that colonists who had originally gone from East Punjab to settle in the colony areas should be received back in their home districts This principle continued to be the guiding factor in making allocations under the quasi-permanent scheme If a person was an allottee under the temporary resettlement he was allowed to remain in the same district unless the new allocation scheme provided for his settlement in another district—which generally happened only very seldom To secure further social cohesion, elaborate rules were drawn which allowed close relations to be treated as a single group and to be allotted land according to the grade in which the major portion of their area was situated Widows under certain conditions were permitted to take land with their parents or in laws or other near relations To avoid dislocation of tenants at will who had for long periods worked for evacuee owners it was made obligatory for refugee landholders entitled to 60 standard acres or more to take half their land in villages where a proportion of the area was tilled by resident tenants at will

About fifty villages were earmarked for allotment of land to displaced ex servicemen and serving defence personnel The evacuee gardens were reserved for allotment to displaced garden owners Claimants who had owned land in suburban areas or in the vicinity of towns were given suburban lands Every effort was made to make the resettlement process as independent of administrative discretion and as impervious to pressure from vested interests as possible One has to read the Displaced Persons Land Resettlement Manual by Tarlok Singh to realize the full magnitude of the work done and the planning and forethought given to it

A very useful scheme to step up the production of fruit in the State was introduced at the time of quasi-permanent settlement This was the Scheme of Garden Colonies Twenty seven large blocks of evacuee land, covering 20,000 acres were set apart for allotment to those who were interested in horticulture These blocks are situated in 11 out of the 13 districts in the State The total number of allottees is 1122 Each allottee has been given either a full unit of 20 acres or half the unit, *i e*, 10 acres This allotment is in lieu of the land which the allottee has voluntarily forgone out of his share Fifteen out of the 27 Colonies get canal water while the remaining are being provided with tube wells and water pumps The allottees in each Garden Colony are members of a Cooperative Society which looks after general management, and ensures that gardening is carried on according to approved plans Three fourths of the area of each garden plot is to be devoted to fruit gardening, the rest being meant for raising food grains, fodder, and vegetables The Garden Colonies represent a bold experiment in cooperative agriculture * ' The scheme is not merely horticultural scheme It is also a great social experiment, which will be watched with interest by all those who are interested in progressive horticulture Intelligent and go ahead farmers have been selected and given equal areas so that cooperation is facilitated All the paraphernalia of modern agri horticulture like tubewells, tractors, power spraying machines, etc, will be available in the garden colonies, and it is also hoped that most of these colonies will shortly be electrified If all these advantages are intelligently exploited, the colonies will in the near future answer the vision of those who conceived them as centres of agricultural and

* Quoted from Rural Settlement in Punjab by Tarlok Singh

social advancement—sort of large scale model farms in the interior of the countryside" (M S Randhawa "Out of the Ashes")

Another scheme of far-reaching influence launched alongside the rural rehabilitation scheme is the Rural Housing Scheme After the partition the evacuee villages were found in a dilapidated condition There were about 1800 villages in which 90% of the houses had fallen Opportunity was taken of this calamity to build model villages and model houses The Rehabilitation Department of the Punjab working in co-operation with the Public Works Department prepared model lay outs based on the latest ideas on rural reconstruction Loans at the rate of Rs 300 per house in the case of allottees of 5 standard acres or more have been provided for in the scheme

Allotment of land to displaced landholders would have meant little without financial assistance to them for purchasing implements, seed, tractors, and bullocks, and for sinking wells and pumping sets A sum of Rs 4,78,12,000 has been disbursed as rural loans among 4,20,000 families of the settlers Furthermore, the verified claims regarding rural houses have been placed at par with the claims in respect of urban immovable property This has had a very cheering effect on the displaced settlers

The Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act of 1954, passed by the Indian Parliament, has taken rural rehabilitation work to its last stage of completion The Act provides for the conferment of proprietory rights on allottees of land under the quasi permanent scheme of resettlement Managing Officers have been appointed who go round the villages and issue permanent deeds on the spot to the allottees The work is proceeding apace, and is expected to be completed in the near future

Urban Rehabilitation: The rehabilitation of urban displaced population has in many respects presented an even more complicated problem than the resettlement of rural refugees The absorption of over 12 lakh urban refugees from West Pakistan in the predominantly agricultural economy of East Punjab was no easy matter

Urban rehabilitation turns upon the following principal points

1) Establishment of a new Capital,
2) Expansion of a number of existing towns, preparing new Cantonments and planning new towns,
3) Leasing out industrial establishments and business premises abandoned by Muslims to refugees,
4) Industrial training on a large scale,
5) Expansion of industry,
6) Organization of transport, and
7) Provision of financial assistance and credit

Steps have been taken in regard to all these East Punjab has its new capital at Chandigarh Vacant plots of land in cities and their suburbs were leased to displaced persons for the construction of houses, shops and business premises There were in all, 1,36,397 evacuee houses of which only 1,15,522 were in allotable condition These were allotted To meet the shortage of houses several housing schemes were sponsored, of which the scheme of New Townships and Cheap Housing Colonies was the most important 3,929 houses in 14 new Model Towns were built, and 5226 plots laid out at a cost of Rs 329 lakhs The scheme was financed by a loan taken from the Government of India In addition, 3184 eight marla houses

were constructed at a cost of Rs 64 32 lakhs in 14 new colonies for the low income groups For the lowest category of displaced population 5395 four marla cheap tenements were built in different towns at a cost of Rs 38 lakhs House building loans to the extent of Rs 122 lakhs have been advanced to those who purchased sites in the new townships and colonies Another scheme to promote building of houses was launched recently under which interest free loans against the compensation due to displaced persons are being advanced Side by side, with the allotment of houses, evacuee shops and industrial establishments, numbering 18,557 and 941, respectively, were leased to the displaced businessmen To meet the shortage of business premises, the Punjab Government have launched schemes of building Mandis and Shopping Centres, which are expected to cost Rs 22 78 lakhs New Industrial Townships have been developed at Jullundur, Ludhiana Sonepat, Panipat Bahadurgarh and Jagadhri to provide further facilities for the rehabilitation of displaced industrialists The Punjab Government in cooperation with the Rehabilitation Finance Administration of the Government of India have advanced loans to those who are setting up factories in these towns To provide training to displaced persons in various crafts, Work Centres and Vocational Training Centres were started and trainees were given stipends of Rs 30 each These Centres are functioning successfully even now To displaced students loans and stipends were given on a liberal scale

Apart from the above schemes small urban loans amounting to Rs 2 4 crores have been advanced to 25 000 displaced persons and 776 cooperative societies

Resettlement of Refugee Women and Children. The partition caused disruption and social degradation of thousands of women and children, and the Government was faced with a very complex problem in regard to their resettlement Although it is common to speak of destitute women and children in a single phrase the problems presented by them are different

Women needing assistance may be grouped in the following classes —

(a) Abducted women who have been recovered from Pakistan In the case of such of those as had relatives and supporters eager to receive them, the problem was one of restoration and of establishing the necessary contacts and in the meanwhile affording a measure of help A more long term and difficult problem was presented by women who had no relatives to go to, or whom the relatives would not receive owing to social prejudice

(b) Women who were physically old and perhaps disabled, and were without supporters

(c) Women belonging to respectable families, who had lost their supporters, and had no one to go to

There is a broad distinction here between widows and others, between women with some education, and those with little or no education, between women with children, and those without children, and finally between women in the early and middle years and those past middle years Each category presented special problems and needed special methods

(d) Women rendered destitute and helpless and in immediate need of support and shelter, but capable within a short time of earning their living, wholly or partially

(e) Women belonging to lower classes and possessing no education or training

The Wider Perspective The above is a brief account of the circumstances leading to the catastrophe of 1947 and of how millions of orphans of the storm were put on their legs again in East Punjab West Bengal, too, has had to face the same problems which confronted the Government of East Punjab But these were, in terms of comparison, milder It is usual to associate the refugee question with the migration that took place on India s North Western frontier Lest we should forget that the same

question had to be faced on the Eastern border, it must be said, without going into details, that relief and rehabilitation measures had to be taken in West Bengal also to absorb the vast numbers that migrated from East Bengal The refugee problem was not a local incident, and the entire country had to accommodate the over flow of immigrants from the Punjab as well as West Bengal Delhi received about a million displaced persons Many went to Bombay, and others to southern and central Indian states The people, who had migrated to India after burning their boats, developed in course of time that hardihood and will to take roots wherever destiny or chance led them, which come only from adversity They had waded through tragedies and miseries, which destroyed all their conservatism and habit of resignation to circumstances When they found new moorings they were ready to begin life anywhere and on any terms that the changed conditions made possible Their chastened will and enterprising spirit has enriched the States in which they have settled

With the coming into operation of the compensation scheme the rehabilitation work has entered its last phase Applications for payment of compensation in respect of verified claims have already been invited by the Government of India When these claims are settled the displaced persons would have fresh resources for stabilizing their new careers Social readjustments have already taken place, and the distinction between displaced persons and the native population of the Indian States has largely disappeared The misfortunes and the woeful story of the privations which they have suffered are already dim memories and the upsurge of fresh hopes has changed the perspective and horizons of life for them



AMONG the manifold problems that confronted India soon after the attainment of independence not the least formidable was that presented by the existence of innumerable States There were as many as 584 diverse States varying widely in size population revenue and level of efficiency of internal administration These erstwhile princely States enjoying more or less full powers covered an area of 6 45 000 square miles as against the 6 31 000 square miles of the former so called British Provinces Their population at the time of partition was about ninety one million whereas the population of the newly born Indian Dominion was roughly three hundred and eighteen million The States thus occupied 50 5% of Indian territory whereas their people comprised 23 8% of the Indian population In other words we may say that on an average one out of every four Indians lived in the States

These States ranged from Hyderabad (the biggest) with a population of 16½ million and an annual revenue of 100 million rupees to Bilbari with a population of twenty seven heads and an annual revenue of 80 rupees Most of these States were closely linked with the Provinces and their boundaries were juxtaposed with Indian territory They have been aptly called an almost continuous chain of land locked territories down the spine of India Despite their nominal independent entity they were so situated that independent of India they could have no export or import trade They were just islands within India and as such an all round co operation with India was an imperative necessity and also profitable for them Notwithstanding the pressure of such geographical and economic necessity notwithstanding their meagre revenues hardly sufficient to meet the expenses of administration and other necessary functions of the State the rulers did not give way easily

Long before India became free there was in the country a strong urge that these States especially the small States and estates which were an anachronism must go There was a powerful feeling that they were mere relics of the past feudal times to which the Princes had doggedly



clung For decades a struggle was also afoot for the abolition of these States as separate political entities Naturally, therefore, in a free India their separate existence was considered to be politically undesirable and economically impracticable. Not only had the people raised their voice against the maladministration prevailing in these States, but also the British Rulers were fully aware of the abject misery of the population of those areas In 1931, Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India, had warned the Princes to put their house in order and maintain a certain minimum standard of administration Almost simultaneously with this warning by the Viceroy, the Political Department issued a circular asking all States with an annual revenue of less than two millions to form regional confederations The Princes did not respond to this suggestion kindly On the other hand, in reply to this circular, they submitted a memorandum in which they insisted that *grouping of States should not be rigidly enforced It should rather be voluntary, they argued nor* should conditions or restrictions be imposed regarding the maintenance of police force or the administration of justice

In 1939, the States' Peoples' Conference at its Ludhiana Session passed a resolution strongly recommending the merger of small States with adjacent Provinces and the Union of other States into larger administrative units The resolution runs as follows —

" It is the considered opinion of the Conference that only those States which have a population exceeding two millions of souls or revenue exceeding five million rupees can maintain the standard of administration necessary and suitable for being workable units for the purpose of uniting with the provinces in a scheme of a free and federated India and, therefore, all States not coming within the above category should be amalgamated, either singly or by groups, with the neighbouring provinces for the purpose of administration with suitable provisions for the reasonable rights and privileges of the rulers concerned, and this Conference, therefore, requests the National Congress to appoint a Committee of Inquiry for the purpose of finding ways and means to facilitate such amalgamation "

Later on Lord Linlithgow exhorted the Princes on the same lines, and pressed the smaller States to pool their resources so as to be able to discharge their obligations as modern States But the most important development affecting the Princely Order took place in 1946 when a merger scheme was put forth by the Crown Representative, Lord Wavell This scheme envisaged the integration of smaller States with the neighbouring bigger ones with which they had geographical, economic and political affinities The communique announcing this measure pointed out the slenderness of the individual resources of these States and the deplorable conditions owing to the geographical, administrative and economic fragmentation Lord Wavell impressed on the rulers the urgent need of simplification of existing arrangements without which any kind of co-ordinated development of the countryside or any form of real progress was impossible He dwelt at length on the fact that the ultimate criterion of fitness for the survival of any State as an independent entity was its capacity to secure the welfare of its subjects, and he regarded the proposed scheme for the merger of these States as the only suitable solution He was sure that the achievement of the conditions of administrative efficiency alone could justify the perpetuation of any form of hereditary rule

However despite a clear realisation of the urgent need for the integration of smaller States and an overhauling of their administrations nothing substantial was achieved in this direction during the British regime On the whole the attempt at grouping of the smaller States with larger States proved unhappy and unsuccessful The reason was not that such a plan for mergers and unions was not urgently needed or desired by the people, but the way in which it was sought to be implemented proved irksome to both

In fact the people of the States were clamouring for the merger of small States with Provinces and the Union of other States into larger administrative units The All India States' Peoples' Conference which

met at Udaipur in 1946 and again at Gwalior in 1947, reaffirmed its Ludhiana Resolution of 1939, recommending the merger of small States with neighbouring larger ones or with adjacent Provinces

What were the factors which motivated the States Peoples' demand not for independence, but for a merger of the States with adjacent Provinces and for the formation of larger unions ? The people of the Provinces and the States had suffered alike from the waves of foreign invasions and the yoke of foreign domination The whole of the country was in varying degrees, under the sway of the British Government

The one important factor that separated the Indian States from the rest of India was that the States maintained the traditional monarchical form of government This system of government did not function smoothly in most of the States where even the slightest semblance of efficient administration was lacking Indeed while in the Provinces experiments in self government were being made, the States clung to their old despotic and autocratic rule The people of the States were mostly denied the benefits of administrative amenities such as secondary and technical education and medical treatment It was perhaps beyond the capacity of local resources to provide hospitals, schools roads and other amenities But even in the case of the bigger units whose resources were not so thin, the autocratic rulers were too indifferent towards their subjects to think in terms of their welfare In most States people enjoyed no personal liberties and the administration of justice was a mere farce All these and a host of other causes had prompted the people of the Indian States to organize themselves into an all India Body to fight for the merger of these States into the Provinces

The British Government set up a high power committee, some 25 years ago, to inquire into the matter of the Indian States This committee, commonly known as the Butler Committee, went into the difficult problem of the Indian States and the authors observed in the opening paragraph of their report —

Politically there are two Indias, British India, governed by the Crown according to the statutes of Parliament and enactments of the Indian Legislature, and the Indian States under the suzerainty of the Crown and still for the most part under the personal rule of the Princes Geographically India is one and indivisible made up of pink and yellow The problem of statesmanship is to hold the two together "

Geographically India was one and indivisible The territories of the Indian States were dovetailed into and closely intertwined with those of what was then British India The main part of the communications essential to the welfare of the country passed in and out of the territories of the Indian States A number of economic ties linked the States with the Provinces. Moreover there were close ties of cultural affinity as also those of blood and sentiment which bound the people of the States and the Provinces together

The existence of the Indian States owed itself to the historical fact that unlike the Provinces, the States had not been annexed by the British Government The institution of rulership had, no doubt, been a recognised feature of ancient Indian polity However, the Princes, their status, and their possessions were all evolved during the first twenty years of the 19th century when the British Power in India was rapidly consolidating its position During this period the British practically completed the process of remoulding and crystallizing Indian States into the form in which the National Government found them at the time of the withdrawal of the British from India The British statement of their position with reference to the States may be summed up in the following extract from Sir John Metcalfe, one of the principal architects of the British Empire in India —

"Some power in India had always existed to which the peaceable States submitted, and in return obtained protection against the invasion of upstart chief and the armies of lawless banditti, the British Government now occupied the place of that protecting power and was the natural guardian of the weak States".

The British pursued a policy of 'subordinate isolation' and by the end of 1819 they had managed to catch all the States in the wide net of treaties and engagements of subordinate cooperation This protection guaranteed to the Princes by the British stabilised their position This policy of the British Government soon developed into what has been commonly known as the doctrine of paramountcy The British Government avowed openly by the end of the first quarter of the 19th century that they were ' the supreme guardians of general tranquility, law and right to maintain the legal succession "

The subsidiary system of alliances secured for the Rulers their position and their possessions not only against any external attack but also against rebellion, revolution or any hostile opposition by their subjects Such a guarantee had a very pernicious effect on the mentality of the Princes, it killed all incentive for good government They no longer found it necessary to secure the goodwill of the people or to maintain efficiency of administration The presence of the British force cut off every chance of a remedy for their misrule, as it supported the Princes on the throne against any foreign and domestic enemy The Princes slunk into indolence for they had been taught to depend upon strangers for their security They became callous and avaricious for they had been assured that they had nothing to fear from the hatred of their subjects In every State the British influence had the same baneful effect The Princes throve despite their imbecility, their vices and their crimes The result was that in most of the States there was a perpetual state of chronic anarchy The revenues of the States were usually dissipated between the mercenaries of the camp and the minions of the court The heavy and arbitrary taxes levied on the miserable subjects crushed them beyond recovery The political system which was based on, and was an evil off-shoot of, the Subsidiary System brought unprecedented corruption and tyranny in its wake Conscientious statesmen were alarmed at this anarchic state of affairs and an Englishman of the eminence of Mill even advocated the abolition of these States

The British had always retained their right of interfering in the internal affairs of the States They had always considered it their duty to preserve peace and order and also professed to apply remedial measures if the general welfare of the people of a State was seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government It is, therefore, a sad reflection on the way the British conducted themselves in the matter of these States They did nothing substantial to mitigate the evils which were the direct outcome of the protection which they so generously bestowed on the Indian Princes

In the eighteen thirties the British Government, however, initiated a policy of annexation which had, as one of its avowed objectives, the mitigation of the evils of the Subsidiary System It was in fact a clever move to disguise the British endeavours towards an expansion of their dominion in India But the great revolt of 1857 demonstrated how greatly the States were instrumental in serving the British interests as a safety valve for the 'ignoble element' of the Indian population The course of events during the Mutiny showed the value of the yellow patches to the British Government Most of the Indian States kept aloof from the general rising, and some of them even extended effective assistance to the British in suppressing the revolt The British gratefully acknowledged the role of the States as " breakwaters in the storm which would have swept over us in one great wave " It was realised that the States could play a most important part as a bulwark against the forces of Indian nationalism This led to a radical change in the British policy towards the States The British Government declared emphatically that they would no more pursue the policy of annexation as the only means of granting the blessings of civilised government to the suffering millions On the other hand, the Government issued Sanads to the Princes in order to reassure and knit the native rulers to the paramount power Every possible effort was made to remove mistrust and suspicion This new policy was motivated by the British aim of consolidating their power

The vigorous operation of paramountcy after the Great Rebellion drove a wedge between the two parts of India The policy of ' hands off the Indian States ' reared up high walls of isolationism around the States Despite a geographical and cultural continuum, despite the fact of the Provinces and States being one economic entity, the States were more or less segregated from the Provinces

The problem of statesmanship in the case of the British might have been merely to hold the two Indias together but the real problem of statesmanship that confronted the Indian leaders on the eve of Independence was the welding of the States and the Provinces together to raise India to her full stature *Our leaders had fortunately the support of the great political organization, the Indian National Congress*, and of the States Peoples' Conference for the Scheme of mergers which the late Sardar Patel ably put into practice after the transfer of power

The sovereignty of the British Crown was supreme in India The Indian Independence Act, 1947, released the States from all their obligations to the Crown With the lapse of His Majesty s suzerainty over *the Indian States, all treaties and agreements in force* at the date of the passing of the Indian Independence Act also lapsed automatically All that the Dominion Government got from the Paramount Power was a small proviso in the Act which provided for the continuance, unless denounced by either of the parties, of agreements between the Indian States and the Central and Provincial Governments in regard to specified matters such as Customs, Posts and Telegraphs etc , etc In effect the Indian States were free to become separate independent entities It was evident that if they so chose, there would not only be a serious void with regard to the political relationship between the Central Government and the States but they could thereby also seriously retard the co-ordination of all-India policies in the economic and other fields

It was in these circumstances that the Government of India decided to set up a Department to conduct their relations with the States in matters of common concern Lord Mountbatten, after consulting the representatives of the Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikhs at an informal meeting, recommended that it would be advantageous if the Government of India would set up a new Department possibly called the States Department This recommendation was considered by the Cabinet of the Interim Government at its meeting on 25th June, 1947, and it was finally decided to create the States Department to deal with matters arising between the Central Government and the Indian States This Department was put in charge of Sardar Patel The new Department was organized in such a way and its work so distributed that at the *time of partition, it could be divided up between the two successive Governments without any dislocation*

The unity of what remained as India after the partition was most essential not only for the political strength, full economic development and cultural expression of the Indian people but also for facing the aftermaths of the vivisection of the country Sardar Patel issued a statement on 5th July, 1947—the day when the States Department came into being—inviting the States to accede to the Dominion on the three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Communications in which the common interests of the country were involved He exhorted the rulers in the spirit of all friendliness to come forth and lend their co-operation in a joint endeavour to raise the country to a new greatness at that momentous stage in history Sardar Patel also sounded a note of warning that the alternative to co-operation in the general interest of the country was anarchy and chaos which would overwhelm great and small in a common ruin if the States and Provinces were unable to act together in the minimum common tasks " It is an accident", said Sardar Patel, "that some live in the States and some in British India, but all partake of its culture and character We are all knit together by bonds of blood and feeling no less than of self-interest None can segregate us into segments, no impassable barriers can be set up between us I invite my friends, the Rulers of States and their people, to the councils of Constituent Assembly in this spirit of friendliness and co operation in a joint endeavour, inspired by common allegiance to our motherland for the common good of us all "

Lord Mountbatten called a special meeting of the Chamber of Princes on 25th July, 1947, when he advised the Rulers to accede to the appropriate Dominion in regard to the three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications He gave them an assurance that their accession on these subjects would entail no financial liability and that there would be no encroachment on their internal sovereignty

It seemed an almost impossible task to finalise the accession of the States within a reasonable period, especially when there was no sanction of paramountcy behind the negotiations But the personal contact between the leaders of public opinion in India and the Rulers of States, rendered possible by the withdrawal of the Paramount Power's previous policy of political isolation of States, was very efficacious in peacefully tackling the whole problem Moreover the patriotic lead given by some of the leading Princes enabled the Rulers of most States to appreciate that it was both in the interest of Indian States and of the country that the States should become actively associated with the Dominion Government In fact on 5th of July, 1947, the day on which Sardar Patel issued his historic statement exhorting the Rulers of the States for their whole-hearted and unstinted co-operation, the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar expressed similar enlightened ideas at a meeting of Kathiawar States in Bombay With laudable gusto and an inspiring sense of patriotism he declared " We are Indians first and then princes Verily if India is free, the Princes are free India is safe, the Princes are safe If India is prosperous, the States are prosperous If India is honoured, every unit is honoured But if India is threatened, what hope have the States ? If India goes under, who survives ? "

The noble appeals made by Sardar Patel, as head of the States Ministry, to the Rulers coupled with the enlightened lead given by such Princes as the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar went a long way in bringing home to the Rulers that the formula evolved by Sardar Patel for the accession of the States to India provided just the kind of relief they wanted, while allowing them the substance of their ancestral privileges They had the foresight to recognize the challenge which the dawn of Freedom would present on 15th August, 1947 The movement launched by the States People had made rapid strides not only in numbers but also in consciousness And consciousness raises hopes and hopes inspire action So the people of the States had not only started clamouring for their political rights and the removal of the disabilities under which they had so long suffered, but they had been stirred to action The Rulers could clearly visualize that a free India demanded a radical change in the government of their respective units

The imperialist hold on India for a century and a half had separated the country into two fragments, British India and Indian States The freedom of the Indian States from foreign subjugation was only relative , the Paramount Power controlled the external affairs of the States and exercised wide powers in relation to their internal matters But the division had proved ruinous to the millions who by accident, lived in the Indian States Therefore, it was heartening to find more and more Rulers realizing that there was nothing derogatory or undignified in national partnership with India Some of them even frankly confessed that under the tightened control of British Paramountcy they were miserably fettered and their position was no better than that of slaves Most of the States readily realised the urgent need for a new and national relationship between themselves and the Indian Union They hoped, as did the Indian Union, that such a new relationship would fill up the vacuum which otherwise would naturally arise on the lapse of Paramountcy That is why even before the transfer of power was effected on 15th August, 1947, some four hundred States, including Mysore, Cochin, Udaipur, Jaipur, Patiala, Gwalior and Baroda realised that they could not and should not exist in the dangerous void as independent entities Thus discarding the pompous glamour of 'sovereign independence , their Rulers very prudently decided to throw in their lot with the Indian Union They also realised the fact that their ancient and traditional forms of government would have to be thoroughly overhauled to meet the people's demand which had grown during the

last two decades, into a strong force threatening the very existence of autocratic rule It is significant to note that Sardar Patel got very valuable assistance and co-operation from Lord Mountbatten who made helpful efforts in contributing to the successful conclusion of negotiations between the Dominion Government and the Rulers of States The result was that barring the three States of Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagarh, all the other States within the geographical limits of India had acceded to the Indian Dominion by 15th August, 1947

The accession of these States, circumscribed to a certain extent though it was in the beginning, was a momentous event in India s history It was significant from many points of view For over half a century, the States had remained a sealed book for the leaders of public opinion in India High walls of political isolation had been steadily reared up and fortified to prevent the infiltration of the urge for freedom and democracy into the Indian States In the context of this unpropitious background, the fulfilment of the ideal of a federal India comprising the Provinces and the States was a laudable achievement indeed After several centuries India was once again unified into a constitutional entity

But the accession of the Indian States to the Dominion of India was only the first phase of the process of fitting them into the constitutional structure of India We have already noted that there obtained a popular urge in the States for attaining the same degree of freedom as was enjoyed by the people in the Provinces With the advent of freedom, this popular urge gathered momentum and gave birth to powerful and unprecedented movements for the transfer of power from the Rulers to the people Sardar Patel had repeatedly declared that the policy of the new States Department was not to conduct its relations with the States in any manner that " savoured of the domination of the one over the other ". He had also assured the Rulers that it was not the desire of the Congress to interfere in any manner whatever with the domestic affairs of the States He had wished the Rulers and their subjects all prosperity, contentment and happiness Now some of the smaller States were so situated that their rulers were in no position to meet the demand of their people for equating their position with that of their countrymen in the Provinces In the case of such States, responsible government would have only proved a farce With the best of will and the most pious intentions, these small entities did not have the resources to afford to instal the machinery for a self sufficient and progressive democratic set-up In the larger States, however, the democratisation of administration could have met the popular demand and could thus be a satisfactory solution of their constitutional problem But as things stood at that time in 1947, there was a serious threat to law and order in most of the States If things were allowed to drift along, the resultant situation would have endangered peace and order not only in the States but also in the neighbouring Provinces There was hardly any doubt that the smaller State units could not have possibly continued in modern conditions as separate entities At that time integration provided the only sound approach to the problem The British Government had also during the last fifteen years, stressed the desirability of the States with limited resources making arrangements for co-operative grouping for administrative purposes The problem of consolidating some of the small States into local confederacies for the purposes of not only remedying their administrative deficiency but also for facilitating their inclusion in any federal arrangement applicable to India as a whole had also been once considered by the Crown Representative, but had eventually been dropped as impracticable The subject had also often figured in the discussions of the Chamber of Princes and recommendations had been made regarding co-operative grouping arrangements in different regions But those arrangements which were actually implemented did not go beyond providing for common High Courts and the creation of a common advisory staff for the Police Force All these half-hearted measures were no more than an eye-wash In effect they hardly touched the fringe of the real problem.

The attainment of freedom brought the problem of the States to a head At this stage no lukewarm measures could propitiate the growing urge of the States people for ridding themselves of the yoke of obsolete autocratic rule The settlement of the problem of the smaller States, therefore, became the immediate objective of the States Department. The policy of integration was thus evolved The main criterion before the States Department was to peacefully work a process of integrating small units into sizeable administrative units In actual practice, however, no single uniform pattern governed the integration of States Merger of States in the Provinces geographically contiguous to them was one form of integration, the second was the conversion of some States into centrally administrated area, while the third was the integration of the territories of certain States with a view to creating new viable units known as Unions of States Each of these forms was variously adopted, keeping in view the size, geography and other factors peculiar to each State or group of States. Democratisation of the administration, which had long been the keynote of the Congress policy towards the States, had become a pressing problem since 15th August, 1947 In order to fulfil those promises, which were in consonance with the desires of the people of the States, it was all the more imperative to go along with the process of democratisation and integration simultaneously in cases where on account of the smallness of its size, isolation of its situation and inadequacy of its resources, a State was unable to afford a modern system of Government

The interests of the people, no less than those of the Rulers of the small States, as also the wider interests of the country demanded a direct recourse to a peaceful and workable solution of the problem which had been delayed so long under the old regime Sardar Patel, therefore, held long discussions with the Rulers of the Orissa States in December, 1947 It was the first series of important discussions in the matter of integration and democratisation of Indian States It was eventually decided that the smaller States of Orissa should be integrated with the Orissa Province This important decision was facilitated by the patriotic attitude of the Rulers Its peaceful implementation securely laid down the foundation of the policy of the integration of small States throughout the country The administration of the Orissa and Chhatisgarh States was made over to the Governments of Orissa and the Central Provinces on 1st January, 1948 The Rulers signed agreements which provided for cession by them to the Dominion Government of full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and powers for and in relation to, the governance of their States The merger of these States gave an impetus to the Rulers of the Deccan States who decided in favour of the security that they would get from integration with a resourceful unit like the Bombay Province as against the hazards of separate existence as small units They signed merger agreements on 19th February, 1948, and subsequent dates Later on, the Rulers of the Gujerat States, Sirohi, Baroda, the smaller States of East Punjab, Madras, the United Provinces, Cooch Behar and the Khasi Hill States decided to merge their States with the contiguous Provinces The process of such merger was almost completed by the end of 1949 In all 216 States, scattered over the length and breadth of the whole country, covering an area of 108,739 square miles with a population of 19 158 millions, were merged in the Provinces

The number of States consolidated as centrally administred areas is 61 This form of integration has been adopted only in cases in which, for administrative or strategic consideration, or for other special reasons, direct control over any area has been considered necessary A number of Rulers of the East Punjab Hill States were the first to sign on 8th March, 1948, agreements ceding to the Dominion Government full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and powers for and in relation to the Governments of their States Other Rulers signed similar agreements on subsequent dates In deference to the wishes of the people and of the Rulers of these Hill States, the Government of India integrated these States into a centrally administered unit known as the 'Himachal Pradesh.' The new Province comprising 21 hill States was inaugurated on 15th April, 1948 The other areas which were taken over as Centrally Administered areas were the former States of Bilaspur, Kutch, Bhopal, Tripura and Manipur These areas were initially placed under the

charge of Chief Commissioners who took over the reins of administration on behalf of the Dominion Government At a later stage, on 1st January, 1950, Vindhya Pradesh comprising 35 States known as Bundhelkhand and Baghelkhand States, which had already been amalgamated in 1948, was taken over by the Centre, for being administered as a Chief Commissioner's Province

In certain cases, territories of States were united to form Unions of States on the basis of full transfer of power from the Rulers to the people In those regions where Unions were formed, the sentiment of the Rulers and the people alike was in favour of such an arrangement In consolidating these States into sizeable and viable units, due regard was paid to the geographical, linguistic, social and cultural affinities of the people Out of this arrangement emerged the new Unions known as Saurashtra, Madhya Bharat, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, the United States of Rajasthan, and the United States of Travancore and Cochin In all 275 States covering an area of 215,450 square miles with a population of 34 7 millions were integrated in these Unions of States

This threefold integration of States will be considered by the future historian as one of the important achievements of India s history What is of greater significance is not the fact of mere external integration, but the unique success of the process of inner integration that has manifested itself in the growth of democratic institutions in the States The institution of Indian Rulership during the British regime was essentially based on the personal autocracy of the Ruler Subject to the overriding authority of the Paramount Power, the Ruler was virtually the State He was the source of all authority in theory as well as in practice In most cases autocracy continued unmasked and only in a few States it was covered by a " thin veneer of democratic facade On the whole the Ruler s absolutism was the prevailing note of the policy of the States

Since 1929 the Congress had openly declared that the States ' should be brought in line with British India by the introduction of responsible Government ' Indeed the independence of India could have no meaning if the people of the States did not have the same political, social and economic freedom as was enjoyed by the people of the Provinces It was in this context that complete elimination of the autocracy of Rulers was decided upon and full and final transfer of power from the Rulers to the people became the underlying principle of all the schemes adopted for the integration of States In the case of merger with the Provinces or the constitution of States into centrally administered areas, transfer of power to the people was automatic in the sense that the merged States became part of the administrative units which were governed by the popular Government in the Provinces or at the Centre as the case may be As regards the Unions of States interim Ministries were set up to conduct their administration Even in the States unaffected by any scheme of integration or merger the movement for responsible Government has rapidly developed There are three such States Hyderabad the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and Mysore With the first two we shall deal in a subsequent chapter In Mysore there is already a popular government functioning The constitution of India delegates to the Rajpramukh, the Council of Ministers and the legislatures of the new States Unions the same functions and powers as are exercisable by their counterparts in the other Provinces

The successful manner in which it was possible to bring about the whole process of integration and democratisation of the States owes itself to the able and patient handling of the problem by the late Sardar Patel The Rulers also acquitted themselves very nobly in giving their whole hearted co operation in this process of unification and democratisation of the States Sardar Patel paid a glowing tribute to them in these memorable words By their act of abnegation, these Rulers have purchased in perpetuity their right to claim the devotion of their people I acknowledge the ready and willing help which the Rulers have given me in implementing the policy of integration and democratisation This involved on their part

considerable sacrifice and self denial For all this I am most grateful" And indeed the people of the States in particular and the people of the whole of India owe a deep debt of gratitude to Sardar Patel without whose untiring efforts and persistent perseverance such radical changes could not have been wrought in such a short space of time The great Sardar transformed the map of India as if by a magic wand

KASHMIR

THE new Indian Government had its hands full with all kinds of pressing problems, when it was suddenly taken unawares by another dramatic development on the northern frontier In October 1947, the news came that hordes of frontier invaders had penetrated into the territory of Kashmir, bringing death, arson and rape in their wake Nehru's Government was naturally perturbed at this serious tampering with the sovereignty of a strategic border State The invasion spelt grave danger to India's security and hard won independence India, however, could not openly come to the rescue of Kashmir because this State had not acceded to the Indian Union and was still under the rule of the Maharaja It was only after the raiders had begun thundering at the gates of Srinagar, that the Maharaja called for immediate military help with the request on behalf of the Kashmir State for accession to the Indian Union On the morning of 25th October, Nehru and his colleagues considered this issue in the Defence Committee but no decision was taken about sending troops in view of the insurmountable obstacles in the way of implementing such an undertaking This problem was again taken up for discussion next morning, because even in the course of one day the situation seemed to have go completely out of control The raiders had sacked several towns, massacred thousands of innocent men, women and children, and had destroyed the great Power House at Mahora which supplied electricity to the whole of Kashmir For a moment the fate of Kashmir seemed to hang in the balance and the people of Kashmir felt that India alone could save them from the impending disaster Further messages were received not only from the Maharaja of Kashmir but from representatives of the people, particularly from Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the President of the National Conference It was in response to these urgent appeals and requests that the Indian Government decided to accept this accession and send troops by air for the rescue of the stranded Kashmiris The intention was certainly not to take advantage of Kashmir's delicate situation and force any final decision on that State The primary consideration in taking this step was merely to help the Kashmiris in defending their hearths and homes, and later to give them the fullest opportunity to decide their own future The troops sent in this connection were few and inadequately equipped, the territories on which they were supposed to fight against the invaders were tricky and unpredictable But armed with a genuine enthusiasm to help those in distress our troops succeeded ultimately in taking possession of Srinagar

It should, however, be mentioned here that this mission to Kashmir would not have succeeded without the full and wholehearted co operation of the Kashmiris themselves How could an army unsupported by the masses accomplish this difficult task ? In fact, one of the major considerations in acceping Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union was that this State did not present any communal problems In the fight against the foreign invaders all sects of the Kashmiris had joined hands with each other and faced the common danger with equal zeal, courage and hope In one of his statements on Kashmir, Pandit Nehru remarked in unequivocal terms, ' Kashmir is not a case of communal conflict , it may be a case of political conflict if you like , it may be a case of any other conflict, but it is essentially not a case of communal conflict Therefore, this struggle in Kashmir, although it has brought suffering in its train to the people of Kashmir and placed a burden on the Government of India and the people of India,

nevertheless it stands out as a sign of hope that there we see a certain co operation, combination and co ordination of certain elements Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs and others on an equal level, *and for a political fight for their own freedom* I wish to *stress* this because it is continually being said by our opponents and critics on the other side that this is a communal affair and that we are there to support the Hindus or Sikh minorities as against the Muslim masses of Kashmir Nothing can be more fantastically untrue He went on to assert emphatically that ' we could not for an instant send our armies and we could not be there if we were not supported by very large sections of the population, which means the Muslims of Kashmir We would not have gone there in spite of the invitation of the Maharaja of Kashmir, if that invitation had not been backed by the representatives of the people of Kashmir And may I say to the House that in spite of our armies having functioned with great gallantry, even our armies could not have succeeded except with the help and co operation of the people of Kashmir '

It was in response to these lofty urges, and in close consonance with Mahatmaji s dictates that the Indian troops threw their weight on the side of the Kashmiris in their crusade against the merciless invaders whose performance in many respects was reminiscent of the great holocaust associated with the plundering raids of Chengiz Khan

Soon afterwards it was brought to light by concrete evidence that these raiders had been inspired by Pakistan to force Kashmir into acceding to the new Muslim State, and that it was with the close and active co operation of Pakistani troops that these raiders had penetrated into the Kashmir territory with the latest weapons of modern warfare This fact was brought to the notice of Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan In a letter of 22nd December, 1947, Nehru briefly enumerated the Pakistani acts of aggression and the nature of assistance given by Pakistan to these invaders Pakistan was requested to call upon her nationals to cease participating in the attack on the Jammu and Kashmir State and to deny to the invaders (1) all access to and use of Pakistan territory for operation against the Kashmir State , (2) all military and other supplies (3) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle" It was the earnest desire of the *Government of India to remove all causes of friction and misunderstanding between* India and Pakistan It was hoped that this genuine request of Nehru's Government would be conceded in good faith But no reply was received to this request and the Government of India was forced to lodge a complaint on 30 th December, 1948 to the U N O Security Council against Pakistan's active participation in the violation of Kashmir territory A copy of this reference was also sent to the Pakistan Government This reference stated the various particulars of the case and pointed out that they inevitably led to the following inferences —

(*a*) *that the invaders were allowed transit across Pakistan territory* ,

(*b*) that they were allowed to use Pakistan territory as a base of operations ,

(*c*) that they included Pakistan nationals ,

(*d*) that they drew much of their military equipment, transport and supplies (including petrol) from Pakistan , and,

(*e*) that Pakistan officers were training guiding and otherwise helping them

Obviously there could be no other source than Pakistan from which such generous advice, help and assistance could have been secured by the raiders The Government of India, therefore, requested the U N O to ask the Government of Pakistan

(1) to prevent Pakistan Government personnel, military and civil, participating in or assisting the invasion of the Jammu and Kashmir State ,

(2) to call upon other Pakistan nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in the Jammu and Kashmir State ,

(3) to deny to the invaders (*a*) access to and use of its territory for operations against Kashmir, (*b*) military and other supplies, (*c*) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle.

This appeal to the Security Council was thus confined to the particulars mentioned above The primary need was how to bring the fighting to an end It may be recalled that all the fighting had taken place on the Indian Union territory and it was, therefore, the inherent right of the Government of India to marshal its resources in driving back the invaders from the Kashmir territory Until this was done no other issue could be taken up for detailed consideration The intention of the Indian Government in making this reference to the Security Council was obvious it was merely to bring certain glaring facts to the notice of the world opinion She had nothing to hide, and therefore, the whole case was presented without any reservations whatsoever But rather unexpectedly the foreign observers, who appeared on the scene to mediate between Pakistan and India, were not completely unbiased Kashmir soon became a hot bed of international politics It became a breeding centre for all kinds of political conspiracies, directed mostly against Indian interests So much so that some sections of the Indian Press were fully justified in demanding an immediate clearance from Kashmir of all foreign elements which could be accused of pursuing suspicious activities in a part of the Indian territory Nevertheless India willingly accepted the U N O s offer to investigate into the Kashmir problem and submit its suggestions as to how it could be solved

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) landed in India in August 1948 In the words of Lord Birdwood, "They were a mixed batch and it certainly went against the grain to watch the representatives from Latin America seeking to get on level terms with a problem which so many Englishmen might have regarded as their preserve" On 10th September, 1949, UNCIP proposed the American Admiral, Chester Nimitz, as an arbitrator, adding that his decision should be completely binding on both countries India at once objected against being placed on par with Pakistan, which was obviously the offending party The Commission, therefore, requested the Security Council's Canadian President, General McNaughton, to conduct private negotiations with India and Pakistan Sheikh Abdullah and Sardar Ibrahim of the "Azad Kashmir" appeared at Lake Success to advocate their respective points of view General McNaughton's term as President of the Security Council expired at the end of the year but the Council requested him to continue his efforts for another year His suggestion was that the regular armies should be withdrawn in progressive stages so that, after the complete disbandment of these forces, Admiral Nimitz could work effectively on both sides of the dividing line This again aroused India's protest because the fact of Pakistani aggression in Kashmir had again not been properly recognized by the Commission, and India s claim to the northern passes was unjustifiably ignored On 6th February 1950, Nehru felt distressed over the U N O s attitude towards the Kashmir issue, and in a fit of genuine exasperation remarked, "My patience is getting exahusted" McNaughton had, on the other hand, also realised that he could not make any tangible contribution to the Kashmir problem and so the following day he reported his failure to the Commission and withdrew from the scene

The next attempt at settlement was made in a resolution at Lake Success, sponsored by a hybrid mixture of the United States, Britain Cuba and Norway The cue for its proposals was taken from McNaughton's suggstions The progressive withdrawal of the respective forces was to be carried over a period of 5 months and Sir Owen Dixon, a Judge of the Australian High Court, was entrusted with the task of implementing the proposals of demilitarisation On 14th March, 1950, both India and Pakistan gave their consent to these proposals

At this stage of the history of the Kashmir problem, one could look forward towards the solution of this issue with some hope and confidence A rare optimism was injected into the discussion between

India and Pakistan Even the *Times* (London) wrote, "The way should now be prepared for Admiral Chester Nimitz to take up his function as Plebiscite Administrator," although it gave the credit for this temporary success exclusively to the British diplomatic efforts in this direction Sir Owen Dixon's main stress was on the plebiscite But the conditions and terms of this plebiscite were not fair and impartial from the Indian point of view and, therefore, Dixon also felt that he had failed in his mission How could India agree to the withdrawal of her forces from Kashmir when there was no guarantee against another possible invasion of the raiders from across the frontier ? And so the issue remained as unsolved as ever Finally, the Commission proposed to elect yet another arbitrator, Dr Graham, to suggest arrangements for demilitarisation and to submit another detailed plan for plebiscite After three months he was required to report to the Council on the main points of disagreement if any, which would be settled by arbitration on reference to a panel appointed by the International Court of Justice The notion of arbitration was enough to excite the suspicion of a country which had by now become sensitive to unnecessary and uninvited foreign interference with her own domestic problems Besides, there was no assurance that the new arbitrator would deliver the goods

Kashmir, however, could not watch in silence this indecision about her destiny In September, 1950, Sheikh Abdullah decided to hold popular elections so as to proceed courageously with the pressing task of putting his countrymen on some kind of firm basis Kashmir could not exist in a vacuum for an indefinite period Although many foreign commentators accused Jawahar Lal Nehru of inciting Sheikh Abdullah to take the step, it should be remembered that Nehru was still prepared to bow unreservedly to any fair and impartial arrangement of a plebiscite He remarked " We have made it perfectly clear in our statement in the Security Council that the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, so far as we are concerned, does not come in the way of a decision by the Security Council , that stands completely " It is surprising to note that even such genuine statements of the Indian Prime Minister were deliberately distorted by certain foreign diplomats, who still accused him of being the only hurdle in the way of UNCIP Time and again Jawahar Lal Nehru had himself made clear that he would not force any decision on Kashmir which was against the popular wishes of its people In the course of a famous speech in the Indian Constituent Assembly, he reasserted, " We have only two objectives in the Jammu and Kashmir State , to ensure the freedom and progress of the people there and to prevent anything happening that might endanger the security of India We have nothing else to gain from Kashmir, though Kashmir may profit much by our assistance We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people That pledge we have given, and the Maharaja has supported it, not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world We will not and cannot back out of it We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations We want it to be a fair and just reference to the people and we shall accept their verdict I can imagine no fairer and juster offer Meanwhile we have given our word to the people of Kashmir to protect them against the invader and we shall keep our pledge "

In spite of these sincere intentions, India's case for Kashmir was misrepresented in the foreign Press, and the whole blame for Dr Graham's failure was put on India

We should remember that in his second report of 17th January 1952, Dr Graham had admitted his failure to convince India of the authenticity of his proposals There were two difficulties in the way of implementing Dr Graham's suggestions The first was the problem of disarming and disbanding the " Azad Kashmir " forces and secondly it seemed impossible to decide the moment within the period of the demilitarisation when the Plebiscite Administrator would take up his appointment Besides these difficulties, there was also the problem of settling the more vital question of the numbers of regular troops to be left behind India who had always been prepared to accept any reasonable settlement of the problem agreed to the limiting of her forces to a Division of 21,000 troops exclusive of the State Militia of 6,000 which Abdullah's Govern-

ment had mobilised during the period of their struggle against the invaders On the Pakistan side there were to be three regular Divisions, four battalions of 'Azad' force and a civilian force of 4,000 which in turn was to be sub divided into no less than 4 categories The Devers plan was sent for consideration to both Governments on 29th November 1951, and these terms were substantially accepted by the Government of India But when on 21st January 1952, a different form of the Plan was published purporting to be the original document consented to, India forthwith denied all acquaintance with it According to the plan the disparity of forces was now reduced to about 4,000 (India 13,800 and Pakistan 10,200) Foreign commentators like Lord Birdwood and others immediately blamed India for adopting an attitude of non-cooperation and intransigence But the fault clearly lay with the representatives of UNCIP who shifted their positions, whenever possible, to suit their convenience Russia had so far remained silent on the Kashmir issue, but after four years of reserving her judgment, she now spoke through her delegate, Mr Jacob Malik, to throw light on some of the underhand motives of the Anglo American conspiracy against Indian interests Although he cannot be accepted as a balanced critic of the Kashmir problem, there was some truth in his statement that Kashmir was really intended as a " trust territory " under Anglo American control He also pointed out how Kashmir was later intended to be used as a strategic air base for the Anglo American bloc His accusation of the U N O designs to clamp upon Kashmir " Imperial control by the back door " may imply some prejudice or exaggeration But the fact remains that the Western Big Powers had decided not to recognise India s just claim on Kashmir by pre occupying themselves with either the proposals of partitioning Kashmir or conducting plebiscite in conditions which were not conducive to fair and impartial elections One of the rocks on which Dr Graham's proposals ultimately foundered was the timing of the arrival of the Plebiscite Administrator He reported that he would like to invite Admiral Nimitz to participate in the discussions This was again an attempt to vitiate the issue by introducing prejudices into this delicate problem In its issue of 3rd May, 1952, *India News* (London) offered its comments

" It is India's view that the time for appointment of the Administrator is after the demilitarisation scheme has been agreed to and they feel that if Admiral Nimitz should get involved in any prior controversies, which are bound to arise in the course of negotiations for demilitarisation, it would prejudice his position as Administrator Any man taking an active part in the parleys will be forced to take sides at some stage and that will at once disqualify him from his exalted office as Administrator, because he would have lost his impartiality "

However, Dr Graham had not given up his efforts to explore the possibility of an agreement between India and Pakistan on the outstanding points As a last resort he suggested that both countries should enter into immediate negotiations in New York to decide the issue pertaining to the strength and character of the forces to be kept in Kashmir These proposals were in many respects similar in nature to the previous suggestions of Sir Owen Dixon Early in February 1953, Dr Graham met Sir Zafrullah Khan and Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai in Geneva, though not in New York But their mutual discussions did not lead to any agreement on this vital issue, and Dr Graham had to publicly announce his failure in bringing about a compromise between the two countries In the meantime another dramatic development turned the course of events in Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah who had so far been a champion of civil liberties in the State, and an ardent supporter of Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union, now began to entertain different notions about the future of his State This change in his attitude towards India was obviously the result of active machination of certain interested foreign diplomats in Srinagar, who were constantly trying to bring Abdullah under their influence It was on the encouragement of this foreign support that Sheikh Abdullah began to visualise Kashmir as a completely independent State His changed attitude obviously savoured of betrayal of the trust and confidence imposed by India in his *bonafides* To avoid any *coup de etat*, Nehru s Government acted promptly and firmly Early on the morning of 9th August, 1953, Abdullah, together with a few members of his

family and Mirza Afzal Beg, the Revenue Minister, were taken into custody and interned in a Rest House at Udhampur. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad now assumed the responsibility of guiding the destiny of his State Before assessing all the factors responsible for this change-over, it may well be remembered that Pandit Nehru was personally much aggrieved to find his erstwhile friend Sheikh Abdullah being removed from the headship of the State But circumstances had forced his hands into recognising the orders of the Sadar-i-Riyasat for the immediate arrest of Sheikh Abdullah Since August 1953, under Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's leadership, Kashmir has made commendable progress in all fields and the entire face of the State is assuming brighter colours Both as an administrator and popular leader, he has given a much more brilliant performance than his predecessor In consonance with the constitutional forms of Government, as mentioned in the *proclamation of the Maharaja of Kashmir on 1st March, 1948, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's Government* is bringing about a general national awakening among the masses It should be interesting here to recall the basis of the present constitutional Government in Kashmir The Maharaja of Kashmir had ordained in his proclamation mentioned above that

(1) " My Council of Ministers shall consist of the Prime Minister and such other Ministers as may be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister

(2) The Prime Minister and other Ministers shall function as a Cabinet and act on the principle of joint responsibility A Dewan appointed by me shall also be a member of the Cabinet

(3) I take this opportunity of giving once again a solemn assurance that all sections of my people will have opportunities of service, both civil and military, solely on the basis of their merits and irrespective of creed or community

(4) My Council of Ministers shall take appropriate steps as soon as the restoration of normal conditions has been completed, to convene a National Assembly based upon adult suffrage, having due regard to the principle that the number of representatives from each voting area should, as far as practicable, be proportionate to the population of that area

(5) The constitution to be framed by the National Assembly shall provide adequate safeguards for the minorities and contain appropriate provisions guaranteeing freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly

(6) The National Assembly shall, as soon as the work of framing the new constitution is completed, submit *it through the Council of Ministers for my acceptance*

(7) In conclusion I repeat the hope that the formation of a popular interim Government and the inauguaration, in the near future, of a fully democratic Constitution will ensure the contentment, happiness and the moral and material advancement of my beloved people "

Since March, 1948, Kashmir has progressively advanced politically, economically and culturally India has not spared any efforts in giving financial or moral support for the amelioration of her poor masses Since Kashmir's accession to India there has been a distinct change over from a capitalistic and monarchical form of Government to a socialistic pattern of administration One of the distinguished achievements of the popular Goverment in Kashmir was the passing of the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, 1950," according to which all land exceeding 22½ acres was expropriated, and only 1 acre could be retained for residential use The Government announced that they would pay compensation on a sliding scale, payment being made for three years, and being reduced to half the former revenue in the 3rd year This compensation would in no case exceed Rs 3,000/- - per acre All declarations were subject to confirmation by a Committee of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly

Kashmir now has direct road links with India, her mineral resources are being tapped, her cottage industries encouraged, and her economy stabilised by the Indian tourists who visit the various parts of

Kashmir every summer in large number Kashmir goods find ready market in India In fact, Kashmir has been drawing liberally on the active support and co operation of all Indians She has now a University of her own and is fast establishing her identity as a separate cultural unit against a wider background of Indian culture In supporting the national struggle in Kashmir, in helping the Kashmiris to become masters of their lands, India has proved beyond all doubt that she stands for unadulterated secularism Sheikh Abdullah himself declared in one of his earlier speeches that Kashmir stands for affording equal opportunities to all sects and creeds in the State Nor was he oblivious of the close trade links between Kashmir and India Time and again he asserted that "our economic interest lies with India Our trade connections are here and we have here extensive market for our goods" Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's Government is now reaping the harvest of Kashmir's trade relations with India which have led to general prosperity in the State

But the question of plebiscite in Kashmir is still hanging fire and the final decision lies in the lap of the future India expects no returns, in material or political terms, from Kashmir, because her interests from the very beginning have exclusively been confined to helping a sister State in remoulding her destiny If Kashmir has decided to become a part of India, it is for her own welfare and prosperity India, on her side, will never hesitate to offer her unstinted help and guidance to Kashmir in all moments of crisis and tribulation And indeed she has already spent crores of rupees on the various State-Projects in Kashmir, leaving all interested parties to unnecessarily quibble over the subtle aspects of India's claim on Kashmir In the sincere goodwill of the Kashmiris alone lies our true reward and salvation

But the story of Kashmir goes on In the course of one of his speeches Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru summed up the entire situation by placing all the facts before the Constituent Assembly 'Apart from rehetoric and vague insinuations, I should like to know from any-body—friend or enemy—from that day in the last week of October when we took the fateful decision to send our troops by air to Kashmir till to day, what it is we have done in Kashmir which from any point of view and any standard is wrong

"I want an answer to that question Individuals may have erred here and there, but I say that the Government of India and the Indian Army as a whole have done something which was inevitable, and each step that we have taken has been an inevitable step which, if we had not taken it, would have brought disgrace to us This is how I have ventured to look at this question of Kashmir And when I find that on the other side a whole case has been built up that I venture to say, using strong language, is falsehood and deceit, am I wrong ? This is what I ask of this House and the country and the world to consider"

India has nothing to conceal All of her moves have been above board, she has tried to hide no facts and vitiate no facts and vitiate no issues with prejudices She is prepared at any time to stand at the bar of world opinion and let the better conscience of the Western Powers decide the issue on its own merits India, who has always championed the causes of self determination, democracy and freedom, could not possibly be a party to any coercion for forcefully making Kashmir a part of India Nehru and his Government would always remain committed to accept the verdict, not of the Power blocs but of the Kashmiris themselves, based on a plebiscite organized under fair and impartial conditions

HYDERABAD

ONE of the legacies of Partition was the problem of Hyderabad which started assuming large dimensions—even a few weeks before the British withdrawal from India Many foreign commentators have tried to study and present Hyderabad and Kashmir as two aspects of the same problem But there is a fundamental difference between the implications of the problem of Kashmir and Hyderabad Whereas the former is a border State and as such represents only the remote limbs of an organism, the latter forms the very heart which controls the circulatory movements Surrounded on all sides by Indian territory and situated in the heart of this sub continent, Hyderabad could not possibly be allowed to function as a convenient centre for foreign conspiracies against the interests of the Indian Government In fact, the Nizam of Hyderabad had made it clear beyond doubt that he had his inner-most sympathies for the new Muslim State of Pakistan In these circumstances India could not remain unconcerned about the attitude of a big State like Hyderabad which was half the size of France and had a population of 17 million, more than twice as many as any other Indian State and considerably more than Canada or any other British Dominion outside India Undoubtedly, Hyderabad could claim to have its peculiar background and its special problems It had remained under Muslim Rule for seven centuries and under the Asafia dynasty for more than two But like all other princely States in India, it had also been an asylum for all reactionary forces In the new India burning with the zeal for equality of opportunity for all citizens, there could be no compromise with a State which threatened to exist as an anachronism in the modern democratic set up The extremely depressing conditions of the masses created a glaring contrast between the irresponsible rulers and the voiceless subjects Hyderabad had to fall in line with the Indian Union by accepting the dictates of the times But before finally justifying India's action in liberating the masses of Hyderabad from the medieval rule of the Nizam, it may be appropriate here to trace in brief outline the history of Indo-Hyderabad relationship since independence This survey would enable us to appreciate how far the Indian Government was prepared to recognise the just claims and privileges of the Nizam's Government It was only when no encouraging response was received from the other side, that Police Action had to be organized to make the Nizam realize the reality of the situation

In one of his earlier letters dated 8th August, 1947, the Nizam of Hyderabad wrote to Lord Mountbatten, the then Crown representative, expressing the hope that after Independence, his State would attain complete autonomy under his rule Time and again, he referred to his 'glorious' record of unflinching loyalty to the British Crown His sympathies for Pakistan may also be gauged in this extract from the letter mentioned above

> ' The partition of India has gravely complicated the problem for my State As Your Excellency knows, while Hyderabad is necessarily closely concerned in various ways with what will now become the Dominion of India, *there are also many ties between my State and the future Pakistan Dominion* It is not yet clear how far and in what manner the Indian Dominion and Pakistan Dominion will consult and co-operate on matters of common concern or how closely their policies can be integrated on the essential subjects of External Affairs and Defence But it would be necessary for me to provide against the possibility, which I earnestly hope will never arise in fact, that the two new Dominions might pursue a mutually hostile policy *In that case, it would be unthinkable for my State to pursue a hostile policy towards the Dominion of Pakistan* "

In the same letter the Nizam attempted to rouse the British sympathies by making an emotional appeal to Lord Moutbatten in these words, "I cannot believe that, after more than a century of faithful alliance, it is the intention of the British Government to throw my State out of the Empire against my will "

The working of the Nizam's mind may be clearly seen from the way he betrayed in this letter his secret sympathies for Pakistan and his desire to become the head of an independent rival State All this naturally created deep distrust and suspicion in the mind of Jawaharlal Nehru who became wary and cautious in anticipating the Nizam's next move In a few weeks the Nizam was busy preparing a draft for his proposed treaty with the Government of India, because after Independence he had climbed down a little from his original demand for complete antonomy before 15th August However, he still stuck to his original position of claiming an independent right to enter into "direct political relations with any foreign power" This was obviously more than Nehru's Government could swallow

Under the influence of certain British advisers, the Nizam continued to make extremely shrewd offers which, however, failed to impress the Indian Government For instance, in his letter of 26th Sept 1947 he slightly modified his position by saying, While we were under the protection of British paramountcy we were content that external relations should be in their hands But the British have gone and the paramountcy is over and the States have been given the opportunity, if they choose of assuming complete independence And then he added, rather lamely, that he would try to follow his foreign policy as far as possible in close conformity with that of the Indian Government It may also be noted here that till the end of October, 1947, he was still flirting with Pakistan and threatening India with direct negotiations with the Muslim State if the latter failed to arrive at mutual understanding In one of his later letters he wrote to the Governor-General of India "But if God forbid a break down were to occur in the negotiations, I would feel compelled, though much against my will, since I do not desire to break off relations with the Indian Government, to negotiate a similar Agreement with Pakistan as I cannot remain inactive because it is necessary for me to maintain friendly relations with both the Dominions so that it does not matter which one I begin with for if I were not to do so the announcement made by me on 15th August would lose all meaning and the world would say that I had slighted Pakistan by neglecting it and entering into relations with India alone ' He went on to add that "this would have an unfavourable repercussion not only in Pakistan but would even affect the loyalty of the Muslims of India towards me as they would think that I had no regard for my co religionists If I were to take no account of Pakistan or offer it a slight, I would not be able to face the Muslim World This is natural because, being the ruler of the largest Muslim State in India, I enjoy the confidence and support of the people of my community" Indeed he was right in making it explicit beyond doubt that he was facing in one direction only, i e , Pakistan How could there be any place for the Head of a State who was deliberately fostering communal tension in his territory ? While Nehru was enthusiastically combing out all communal elements from India how could he tolerate communal fanatics like the Nizam of Hyderabad But it must be said to Nehru's credit that in spite of these serious differences between his Government and the Nizam, he was still prepared to meet the latter more than half way by recognising a majority of his claims and privileges Instead of resorting to any drastic measures at this stage, he directed his Government to sign with the Nizam an agreement, which afforded an honourable settlement for both the parties This was signed on the 29th Nov 1947, whereby it was agreed

Article I—Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to the matter of common concern, including External Affairs, Defence and Communications, which were existing between the Crown and the Nizam immediately before 15th August, 1947, shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between the Dominion of India (or any part thereof) and the Nizam

Nothing herein contained shall impose any obligation or confer any right on the Dominion—

(i) to send troops to assist the Nizam in the maintenance of internal order ,

(ii) to station troops in Hyderabad territory, except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam, which will not be unreasonably withheld, any troops so stationed to be withdrawn from Hyderabad territory within 6 months of the termination of hostilities

Article 2—The Government of India and the Nizam agree for the better execution of the purposes of this Agreement to appoint Agents in Hyderabad and Delhi respectively, and to give every facility to them for the discharge of their functions

Article 3—(i) Nothing herein contained shall include or introduce paramountcy functions or create any *paramountcy relationship*

(ii) Nothing hereby contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to create in favour of either party any right continuing after the date of termination of this Agreement, and nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to derogate from any right which but for this Agreement would have been exercisable by either party to it after the date of termination hereof

Article 4—Any dispute arising out of this Agreement or out of agreements or arrangements hereby continued shall be referred to the arbitration of two arbitrators, one appointed by each of the parties, and an umpire appointed by those arbitrators

Article 5—This Agreement shall come into force at once and shall remain in force for a period of one year

But as soon as this Agreement was signed the Nizam of Hyderabad began to pursue under hand means of sabotaging the interests of the Indian Government Most of his activities, after the signing of this Agreement constituted a serious infringement of the terms of this understanding Without losing any time the Secretary of the Ministry of States, Government of India, sent a Memorandum to the Nizam through his Agent General in Delhi The three outstanding points mentioned in this document were the action of the Nizam's Government

(i) in making the circulation of Indian currency illegal in the State ,
(ii) in prohibiting the export of bullion and precious stones and metals from the State ,
(iii) in granting a loan of Rs 20 crores to the Government of Pakistan

In this connection it may be observed in further detail that prior to the promulgation of the Hyderabad Currency Amendment) Ordinance 1947, Indian Currency used to circulate in Hyderabad along side the State Currency and there was no law which precluded its use in transactions involving the use of money But under the new Ordinance the Nizam had made it a penal offence to use Indian Currency in ordinary cash transactions With regard to the loan of 20 crores to Pakistan, it is clear that Hyderabad could not be absolved of this blame The Nizam, however tried to hoodwink the issue by saying that the transaction was not a loan but an exchange of securities between the Hyderabad Government and Pakistan and that this was decided late in October or early November before the Standstill Agreement was signed. But the Reserve Bank of India had not by that time issued any loan on behalf of the Pakistan Government or any Provincial Government in Pakistan and, therefore, there could be no question of exchanging any securities of the Pakistan Government for Government of India securities held by the Hyderabad Government The second explanation forwarded by the Nizam's Government was that Hyderabad wanted to spread its investments But it was obvious that no Government could be so stupid as to think of converting as much as one third of its existing investments into the securities of a new State about the financial position of which no concrete data were available It was clear that according to the terms of the Standstill Agreement, the Nizam's Government should not have entered into any such deal with a foreign State, least of all a country which had hostile designs against India The Nizam, with the advice of Sir Walter Monckton, tried to render some further explanations, but the Government of India could no longer have any implicit faith in the bonafides of his Government. To make matters worse, the Nizam, in criminal haste, appointed

a Public Relations Officers in Pakistan, and adoped many other measures which were highly prejudicial to the interests of a country which had willingly accommodated his rightful claims and demands The Nizam, however, continued pursuing his inimical designs, particularly in the strengthening of organization of Razakars, who started a reign of terror in the State The Hindu majority of Hyderabad was intimidated into fear and insecurity, which led to general discontentment among the masses It was in these circumstances that Lord Mountbatten was forced to bring some of these infringements to the notice of the Nizam of Hyderabad In a letter dated April 8th 1948, he wrote, "I would first say that when the Stand still Agreement between India and Hyderabad was executed at the end of November, 1947, I hoped that the satisfactory working of this Agreement, with goodwill on both sides, would result, on its termination in the ground being prepared for the formulation of a permanent close association between India and Hyderabad This hope was fully shared by my Government " He then went on to dispel all fears from the mind of the Nizam about the possibility of India clamping an economic blockade on Hyderabad ' I can now once more assure you that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, Pandit Nehru and the other Ministers of the Central Government of India have in no way been parties to any policy of applying economic pressure on Hyderabad *I do not know whether you have ever met Pandit Nehru, if you had, I do not believe that you would allow any accusation of the nature you imply to be levelled against him* " Lord Mountbatten then proceeded to fearlessly expose the irresponsible and one sided attitude of the Nizam against the Hindu majority of his State "It is impossible for any fair minded person in the outside world to view the present Government of Hyderabad but as one representing, and indeed dominated by, a party which commands the support of only a part of the minority community in the State , nor, to the best of my knowledge, is it responsible to the Legislature If you could now see your way to introducing a Government truly representative of the desires and aspirations of your people as a whole, I believe that you will do a great service to the future of the whole of this sub continent "

But all these appeals had hardly any effect on the Nizam, and the Government of India felt greatly perplexed how to adjust itself to the new conditions Time and again the Nizam was reminded that the conclusion of a Standstill Agreement for one year without the accession of the State to the Dominion of India was an exceptional arrangement to which the Government of India had not agreed in the case of any other State In the case of Hyderabad, the Government of India had agreed to such an arrangement out of consideration for the special circumstances of the State, and in the hope that during the period of the Agreement, the State would be able to settle its internal difficulties so as to make it possible for itself to accede to the Dominion of India Instead of appreciating such liberal approach towards Hyderabad, the Nizam continued to encourage anti Hindu elements in the State, until the Government of India was compelled to make a strong appeal for an immediate disbandment of the Razakars, the volunteer organization of the Ittehad ul Muslimeen It also pressed for an early assurance that the Press and Radio controlled by the Government of Hyderabad would cease forthwith from indulging in hostile propaganda against the Government of India The Razakars, it may be noted had been responsible for many acts of violence not only in the State of Hyderabad itself, but also in the neighbouring territories of the Dominion of India They had been assigned an official part to play in the internal security arrangement of the State, which clearly showed that they functioned with the full support and connivance of the Nizam himself The Government of India had acquired secret information about the Razakars whose activities were exclusively directed towards suppressing all opposition in the State by violent methods They terrorised the border areas of the three neighbouring Indian Provinces, conducted virulent propaganda against India and even attempted to mobilise Muslims in some parts of India against the Government Provoked by these irresponsible activities of the Razakars, Pandit Nehru made a direct reference to this organization in the course of a speech before the Constituent Assembly on 7th September 1948

"Our repeated attempts at a settlement, which came near to success on one or two occasions, ended unfortunately in failure The reasons for this were obvious to us, there were sinister forces at work in the Hyderabad State which were determined not to allow any agreement with the Indian Union These forces, led by completely irresponsible persons, have progressively gained in strength and now completely control the Government The resources of the State were and are being mobilized for war in every way. The State army has been increased and irregular armies have been allowed to grow up rapidly Arms and ammunition were smuggled in from abroad, this process, in which a number of foreign adventurers have been taking a prominent part, is continuing No country, situated as India is, would have tolerated these warlike preparations by a State in its very heart Nevertheless, the present Government of India patiently continued negotiations in the hope that they would lead to some settlement The only other step they took was to prevent, in so far as they could, the flow of warlike material into Hyderabad

'The private armies that grew in Hyderabad, notably the Razakars, have become more and more aggressive and brutal within the State and sometimes across its borders in India The growing terrorism and frightfulness inside the Hyderabad State against all those, Muslims and non-Muslims, who are opposed to the Razakars and their allies, both official and non-official, has produced a very grave situation and has had its repercussions on the bordering areas of the Union and in India generally At the present moment our immediate and most anxious preoccupation is this mounting wave of violence and anarchy inside the Hyderabad State

"A full account of Razakar activities will take long I shall mention only some recent incidents and a few figures The inhabitants of a village inside the State, which, under the spirited leadership of its headman had offered stout resistance to these gangsters, were, when resistance became impossible owing to the exhaustion of ammunition, put to the sword and the village itself burnt The brave headman was decapitated and his head carried about on the pole In another village, men, women and children were collected in one spot and shot dead by the Razakars and the Nizam's police

"A large party of villagers, fleeing in bullock carts to some haven of safety in India, was brutally attacked, *the men were beaten up and the women abducted*

A train was held up, the passengers looted and a number of coaches burnt The House is aware of the attacks on our troops seeking to enter our enclaves within Hyderabad territory and of Razakar incursions into our own villages along the border"

Nehru's Government could not obviously allow this state of affairs to continue for long A State situated in the centre of India, which had due to the extremely poor conditions of its masses become a breeding ground for the communists to conduct their vicious propaganda, could not be permitted to spread the infection of disorder and lawlessness to the neighbouring territories of the Indian Union In the hands of a constitutional monarch, things would not have deteriorated so much, but the Nizam's rule represented absolute power completely divorced from responsibility In fact Alan Campbell Johnson in his book *Mission with Mountbatten* relates an interesting encounter with the Nizam when he was sent by the Governor General to deliver an important personal document to the Nizam As the subject turned round Mountbatten's interest in the survival of the Nizam's dynasty, Mr Campbell Johnson explained that his master was a firm believer in constitutional monarchy, at which the Nizam remarked vehemently, "Constitutional monarchy may be very well in Europe and the West but it has no meaning in the East'

Such were the tyrannical conditions prevailing in Hyderabad which forced the hands of Nehru's *Government into adopting a more direct method of settling the protracted disputes outstanding between*

India and this princely State In September 1948, Indian Police forces marched into the Hyderabad territory and without much loss of time set all conflicts at rest But the armed forces which carried out this delicate mission performed this task like true soldiers with skill, discipline, forbear ance, and strict observance of all the codes of honour It was, therefore, with a ring of pride and achievement in his voice that Pandit Nehru remarked after the successful completion of the Police Action in Hyderabad "What has pleased me most during these past six days is the splendid response of our people both Muslim and non-Muslim to the call of restraint and discipline and the test of unity. It is a remarkable thing, and one which is full of good augury for the future, that not a single communal incident occurred in the whole length and breadth of this great country I should also like to congratulate the people of Hyderabad who, during these days of trial, kept calm and helped the cause of peace Many persons warned us of the risks and dangers that we faced and of the communal trouble that might besmirch our land But our people have falsified these prophets and demonstrated that when crisis faced them, they could face it with courage, dignity and calm An evil course was followed by the ruling clique in Hyderabad and that led to this unfortunate conflict " Pandit Nehru went on to assure all parties in Hyderabad that the future of this great State would be determined in accordance with the wishes of the people And it was comforting to see that the people of Hyderabad pronounced their verdict in favour of complete organic union with India Truth and good will had triumphed over tyranny and injustice The Hyderabad chapter was brought to a happy close

of the Ashram consisted of nothing more than stray flowers as a gift of nature His first injunction to Miss Slade, the sophisticated daughter of a British Admiral, was to shed off her civilisation, if she wanted to be a disciple at his feet She obeyed and became the well known Mira Behn The menial work in the Ashram must be done by every one with one's own hands The Ashram was the flowering house of ideals The basic system of education was evolved here and spread throughout the country

The emancipation of women came about through him as a part of the universal education The Khadi and Gramudyog were part of his plan to ruralise the face of India and to solve the unemployment problem His charkha was an emblem of economic resurgence as well as a political weapon against the British vested interests The big mill owners and millionaires like Birlas were to be treated as the trustees of the poor and to be used to propagate nationalism in the struggle against foreign Raj

It was not merely in the economic field that Gandhiji's force was felt The social order came under his vigilant eye and he sought to eradicate social evils The Harijans uplift was his greatest concern The Harijan was to him a man near divinity He would shun palaces and stay in the Bhangi Colony in the midst of poverty and squalor Even the Governors General, diplomats and Ministers and foreign emissaries must go thither to meet Gandhiji The Harijans had been downtrodden for ages and they were the bed rock of the top heavy Hindu caste system Their economic backwardness and social insecurity reduced the Harijans to a position of serfdom as mere ' hewers of wood and drawers of water " The British used the Harijans as pawns as they did the Muslims Dr Ambedker was set up by the British to counter Gandhiji s solicitude for Harijans To espouse their cause, Gandhiji brought out the monthly magazine " Harijan " When during the Round Table Conference in 1931, Ramsay Macdonald announced his well known Communal Award to bifurcate the Hindu society into caste Hindus and Scheduled castes, Gandhiji staked his life and took a fast unto death against that Award India was astir and the Award was withdrawn One of the greatest achievements of Gandhiji was the emancipation of the Harijans from their semi slavery The grateful nation passed laws, throwing temples open to Harijans after centuries of social ostracism

Like the Harijan cause communal unity was also nearest to Gandhiji's heart The British game of divide et impera was countered by him by preaching the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man The Hindu Muslim Unity in 1921 was a miracle on the eve of ' khilafat ' agitation White imperialism fostered and fomented communal riots two years later in order to checkmate communal unity Separate electorates were a part of the same move Gandhiji replied with his demand for joint electorates But the Muslim League was created by the British like a phantom Jinnah was egged on by them to put up his well known 14 points and thereafter he evolved the notorious two nations theory Gandhiji opposed the former tooth and nail at the Round Table Conference in the thirties and again at his meeting with the British statesmen in the forties during the World War He refused to consider the Cripps proposal and Churchill s offer But the British saboteurs and agents provocateurs created an intense atmosphere of communal hatred resulting in a chain of communal disturbances Soon after the termination of the war, riots were engineered in Bengal in 1946 with reprisals following in Behar and recoiling like a boomerang in the Punjab This was a well known pastime and game of the British They had practised it in Ireland, Africa and elsewhere in the course of their imperialistic adventures

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of the ashes of this unholy fire, smouldering with stinks of innocent corpses Gandhiji had only one answer, "Self Immolation"

The dawn of independence in August 1947 found Gandhiji absent from the scene of rejoicing He was trudging his weary path in Noakhali, wiping tears of the lowly and the poor sufferers of communal passions Day in and day out, he moved from hamlet to hamlet and from village to village to give solace to afflicted humanity, to restore order out of chaos and to apply the healing balm to afflictions The celebrations of independence in all their majestic glory and gorgeousness had no room in his scheme of things The birth of democracy and independence was accompanied by immense travail and unprecedented blood-shed His place was with the poor masses rather than with the office-holders The image of a frail man, moving on his rickety legs, with a weeping ulcer on his weary feet, gave solace to the needy His cherished dream of political independence did materialise, but it was a shattered materialisation of dream This hurt the poor old man grievously He prayed again and again to God to lift him from this earth rather than suffer him to live his cherished goal of 125 years, which he used to proclaim earlier in half-serious and half humorous vein He wanted to quit this planet and said so time and again

His wish came true It was the offering of self-sacrifice and self immolation that could appease the communal passions It is in the traditions of the East that when a great catastrophe overtakes an individual or a community or a nation, the sacrifice of the most cherished and dearest is the greatest Havan" in the sacrificial fire The communal conflagration was turned into a sacrificial fire and Gandhiji could think of nothing greater than the immolation of his own self He had himself written two letters The duty of renunciation differentiates mankind from the beast There is no deliverance and no hope without sacrifice, discipline and self-control" He spoke to Mirabahen hardly a few days before his assassination "I cannot come to you, *why count on a corpse ?*" Only on the 29th January 1948, he wrote his last letter

"Kishorlal gave me news of the death of your daughter Sulochana I had no idea at all of it What can I write to you ? What comfort could I give ? Death is a true friend It is only our ignorance that causes us grief Sulochana's spirit was yesterday, is to-day and will remain tomorrow The body, of course, must die Sulochana has gone taking her failings with her, leaving the good in her behind Let us not forget that Be even more true in the discharge of your duty'

Gandhiji had once said "To die at the hands of one s brother is a privilege provided you die bravely"

Then came January 30th

He came out to hold his usual prayer meeting The hand of the assassin moved and what a mighty fall there was ! Even in death his last words were, 'HE-RAM'

The world shook in tremors The greatest man of his time, born after centuries' waiting, was no more in flesh and blood The high and low, kings and princes, statesmen and politicians, young and old, and even the very air all round shed tears at this Maha Nirwan of the modern Budha It was like a repetition of the crucifixion of Jesus after 2,000 years Perhaps history repeated itself The crucifixion ushered in the immortal light and dispelled darkness Gandhiji died only to live for ever and ever

Gandhiji's death was the beginning of a new era of peace The world had to pay the greatest price for ushering in this new era The mind that worked day and night to resurrect society was no more there in flesh and blood But the spirit survived and survives and will always survive There was not a country which did not observe the mourning Tributes to Gandhiji were out of place, because he was above all tributes and praise But a grateful humanity offered the tributes in

token of their last homage His own son wrote "And yet Gandhiji's interest in the narrow domestic circle was of the meagrest, and I had long ceased to look upon him as my father in any possessive sense He was a saint as much to me as to any of you and I feel and see the void exactly as you do I therefore view the disaster with the detachment of one living in the North Pole and having ties neither of blood nor of race with the Great One of whose loss we are as yet but dimly aware"

A Christian Bishop of Mysore said 'At a Christian conference when the president, in the course of his address asked, 'Who is the greatest Christian saint?' none answered And he announced that it was Mahatama Gandhi Though a Hindu, by his firm faith in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man he has revealed to us the Kingdom of God which our Lord Jesus came to establish on earth Jesus said 'When a man loves God and loves man he enters the Kingdom of God' Gandhi has exemplified this in his life and work and has sacrificed his life for his countrymen He was, we all now, deeply influenced by the Sermon on the Mount"

He was the one complete man in this age of errors He combined in a single self the multiple roles of saint philosopher politician and guide Time will bring out in sharp relief his true greatness in relation to others His achievement was little short of miracle Mr A K Fazul Huq, ex-Premier of Bengal, referred to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi as ' one of the most tragic events since the great tragedy of Karbala

The *Pakistan Times* recorded "Mahatma Gandhi is dead The world has been deprived of the sight and sound of his frail body and aged voice—the body and voice that had in the last few months almost lost, for a large section of mankind, their personal and ephemeral character and become timeless symbols of compassionate love and fearless rectitude In his last momentous days Gandhi, the politician, gave place to the infinitely greater Gandhi, the man The best loved and most venerated political leader and moral evangelist of a near sub continent, the idol of millions, has been publicly murdered In India and Pakistan today every heart and every conscience should be searched to asses how far every heart and every conscience is answerable for this most fearful of tragedies The people of India and indirectly the people of Pakistan, for he was trying to befriend both, have added to their other losses the most grievous loss of all—the loss of Gandhiji"

His majesty the King, U K wrote "The Queen and I are deeply shocked by the death of Mr Gandhi Will you please convey to the people of India our sincere sympathy in the irreparable loss which they, and indeed mankind, have suffered"

The Prime Minister of Britain followed 'For a quarter of a century this one man has been the major factor in every consideration of the Indian problem He had become the expression of the aspirations of the Indian people for independence, but he was not just a nationalist His most distinctive doctrine was that of non-violence He believed in a method of passive resistance to those forces which he considered wrong The sincerity and devotion with which he pursued his objectives are beyond all doubt"

Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, paid his tribute ' He stood out head and shoulders above contemporaries May not the whole world learn from his life something of fundamental value that it is idle to try to save ourselves from destruction by the use of force and that our greatest weapon of salvation is the supreme and redeeming power of love Non violence for him was not a negative policy, it was much more than that It was the determination that the power of love should triumph, a determination based upon a deep and unshakable belief in that power He never took the view that he must divorce his religion from his everyday life Religion was his life and his life was his religion He was no simple missionary Combined with his religious outlook was his lawyer-trained mind, quick and apt for reasoning He was a

formidable opponent for argument and would often take up the attitude that his views and the policy he was advocating had come to him in his meditations from God and then no reasoning upon earth could make him depart from them He stood out head and shoulders above all his contemporaries as one who believed and who fearlessly put his beliefs into practice I know no other man of any time or indeed in recent history who forcefully and convincingly demonstrated the power of the spirit over material things "

Lord Listowel paid his tribute "So wise a counsellor, so kind a friend, so unique a master Gandhiji was one of those rare beings who represent in the course of their own lives an everlasting struggle between good and evil The pain and suffering of the world became his suffering His death will surely prove the fact and greatest of his victories "

Lord Mountbatten, former Governor-General of India says, " India, indeed the world, will not see the like of him again, perhaps, for centuries Our one consolation in this hour of unparalleled grief is that his life of truth, toleration and love towards his fellows may inspire our troubled world to save itself by following his noble example "

Dean of Canterbury " Deathless child of God I rejoice to think that Canterbury showed him hospitality at that rather bitter period of his life I rejoice to think of what he has done for India Mahatma Gandhi is not dead Mahatma Gandhi lives The children of God never die "

Mr Kingsley Martin, Editor, *New Statesman & Nation* London, " The Mahatma did not teach a soft doctrine of complacence but he did, like Jesus Christ, convince millions of people that the only alternative to an endless succession of hates and wars was to realise that truth and love were the supreme methods of warfare for the only true victory is to turn your enemy into your friend I was present when Mahatma Gandhi held his prayer meeting at Mehrauli Tomb, as part of his brave and beneficent campaign to end hatred and bitterness between Hindus and Muslims People sometimes speak as if the western world is incapable of appreciation of such a life as Gandhi's But they sometimes forget what Gandhi always remembered that Christ himself taught a doctrine that was closely akin to ahimsa "

The New Chronicle, London, " The darkness which is over the earth today is but the deepening of a shadow which has fallen across all generations of men The murder of Mahatma Gandhi is something far more terrible than any political crime It belongs to the supernatural realm of high religious tragedy The hand that killed the Mahatma is the same hand that nailed the Cross It is the hand that fired the faggots It is the hand that through the ages has been growing ever more mighty in war and less sure in the pursuit of peace It is your hand and mine Yet after the work of the Mahatma, it is not too presumtuous to hope for a miracle It may be that the death of this leader, who was held in so much reverence by so many millions, will raise men to heights they have not hitherto attained It may be that love against which the gun has no power will evoke out of this great tragedy the beginnings of peace and unity for India Now in the pain of Mahatma Gandhi's death it is possible to realise how lasting and how strong is the faith which he preached Now we can see that the light which was kindled in the East has not been put out, but is made one with the white radiance of eternity "

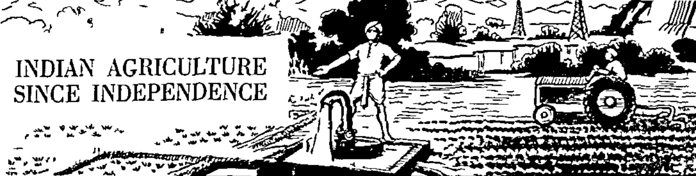
Leon Blum in *Le Populaire* " I never saw Mr Gandhi I do not know his language I never set foot in his country and yet I feel the same sorrow as if I had lost someone near and dear The whole world has been plunged into mourning by the death of this extraordinary man "

M Maurice Schuman " Gandhi's blood will accomplish the miracle which he had wrought in the last days of his life by his supreme fast For the victories achieved by calculated violence over obstinate non violence are always apparent and temporary The Mahatma will have the last word "

The tribute from Albert Einstein was equally pathetic, " He died as the victim of his own principles, the principle of non-violence He died because in time of disorder and general irritation in his country, he refused armed protection for himself It was his unshakable belief that the use of force is an evil in itself, that therefore it must be avoided by those who are striving for supreme justice to his belief With his belief in his heart and mind, he has led a great nation on to its liberation He has demonstrated that a powerful human following can be assembled not only through the cunning game of the usual political manoeuvres and trickeries but through the cogent example of a morally superior conduct of life The admiration for Gandhiji in all countries of the world rests on recognition, mostly sub conscious, of the fact that in our time of utter moral decadence, he was the only statesman to stand for a higher level of human relationship in the political sphere This level we must, with all our forces, attempt to reach We must learn the difficult lesson that an endurable future of humanity will be possible only if also in international relations decisions are based on law and justice and not on self-righteous power, as they have been up to now "

Gandhiji left his last message a day before his assassination, " Death is a true friend It is only our ignorance that causes us grief " He had once said earlier, "When this body is no more, there will not be separation but I shall be nearest to you " This promise is the hope of future generations He is dead in body but his presence is still alive His gospel is now preached by his two closest disciples—Nehru and Vinoba Bhave Nehru has carried out his message into the international field, while Vinoba Bhave is carrying the torch in hand to usher in a Swaraj based on love and Ahimsa There could be no more glorious end to Gandhiji s own liking than what happened to him We may be the poorer by his absence, we may no longer have his guidance in person, but the living presence is always there, and his message of Ahimsa will triumph What Jesus Christ did in the West and Budha in the East, Gandhiji has done for entire humanity It was his destiny and mission to fulfil and correlate Christianity, Islam, Budhism and Hinduism and to evolve a process of Humanism which will be the religion of Man in times to come





INDIAN AGRICULTURE SINCE INDEPENDENCE



PUBLIC memory is proverbially short It tends to concentrate on immediate problems and difficulties forget much greater difficulties which faced the country in the past and take almost for granted the improvements which have taken place already It is true that we are not yet out of the wood and a lot remains to be done before we can feel reasonably satisfied Nevertheless we shall be doing injustice to our millions of farmers and other workers in the field of food and agriculture if we do not take note of the amazing improvements that have taken place in the country since the dark days of 1946 47



India obtained her independence under circumstances which were by no means propitious India had become the base for the largest military operations that had ever been seen in the history of the Far East She had to feed large armies not only on her own soil but also abroad There was severe fighting right on her eastern borders The Japanese invasion of Burma cut her off from the large supply of rice which she used to get from that country The entire transport system of the country became dislocated There was a famine in Bengal which caused the death of over 3 million people There was a diversion of resources from productive purposes to military purposes which resulted in a sharp deterioration in the economic life of the country There was a galloping inflation which led to black marketing and other evils and caused all round demoralisation in the society Last of all came the communal riots and then the partition which completely dislocated the country s economy Fifty million refugees came from Pakistan to the Indian Union in a completely destitute condition and had to be rehabilitated Millions of acres of land were left fallow by people who migrated to Pakistan While the Indian Union got a share of 82% of the population of undivided India it obtained only 69% of the irrigated area 75% of the production of food grains 60% of cotton and 19% of jute A large number of people in the country faced famine and starvation and hundreds of thousands of workers employed in the cotton and jute mills faced the threat of



unemployment because of a shortage of these raw materials The balance of payments position of the country became very critical because she had to import millions of tons of foodgrains and the exports of cotton jute and their manufactures which were her main foreign exchange earners went down drastically Foreign observers made all sorts of gloomy prognostications about the future of India and some even predicted that India would go down in an unparallelled economic and political chaos But even this was not all In 1949 came the devaluation of the Indian rupee which gave an additional spurt to the inflationary pressure Then came a series of bad years—years of unprecedented drought which reduced the food production of the country to an all time low in 1950 51 and 1951 52 when production was even lower than in 1942 43, the year of the Bengal famine There was threat of famine in Bihar and a number of other places in the country And yet the country did not go under The country girded its loins to face this series of misfortunes Its first task was to heal the wounds of partition and control the evil forces of inflation and *black marketing which the War had let loose It set about to make good the shortage of foodgrains, cotton* jute and other essential commodities It launched a large scale irrigation programme to avoid the menace of drought made heroic efforts to ensure that the system of distribution worked smoothly and that inflation was brought under complete control and no one consumed too much food at the expense of the starving and the needy One of the many instances of the success of Independent India was that although in 1950 51 the year of Bihar famine production was much lower than in 1942 43 the year of the Bengal famine there was scarcely any death from starvation in 1950 51 as against 3 million deaths in 1942 43 An even greater success was achieved in subsequent years when the Indian economy which was a chronically deficit one in foodgrains for the last 30 years was transformed into a surplus one in 1953 54 The story of this achievement is a fascinating one It is a story of how a dependent people who had very little experience of modern administration and who were considered to be technically too backward by many of their erstwhile rulers to be able to manage their own affairs successfully took charge of the Government brought under control unprecedented forces of chaos and dislocation and launched a programme of development which transformed the entire economic situation in the country as it were by a miracle It was certainly no mean achievement that the country was able to rehabilitate the economy from the ravages of war and partition in only 4 years from 1947 48 to 1950 51 launch the First Five Year Plan of economic development in the fourth year of freedom and carry it out in such a manner that in three years time it could solve the problems of major shortages on the food and agricultural front

It may not be out of place here to give a few figures to illustrate the progress that India has made in the field of food and agriculture since Independence The index number of agricultural production in India (*base 1949 50 — 100*) which stood at *96 2* in *1946 47* and *100* in *1949 50* went up to *114* in *1953 54* It is true that some of the improvement between 1949 50 and 1953 54 was due to an improvement in weather conditions but there can be no doubt that a large part of it was due to the efforts which the Government and the people of India had put in to improve their agriculture For in the following year that is 1954 55 when weather conditions were not so good as in the previous year the index number of agricultural production continued at the same high level namely 114 In fact some of the experts have been so impressed by this amazing improvement in agricultural productivity in India that they have even gone to the length of saying that this indicated a dynamic change in the pattern of agriculture in the country

Coming to individual crops the production of foodgrains which was only 49 4 million tons in 1946 47 and 50 million tons in 1950 51 went up to as much as 68 4 million tons in 1953 54 On account of adverse weather conditions the production no doubt declined to 65 8 million tons in 1954-55 but this was still not only much higher than what it was in 1950 51 or 1946 47 but was substantially higher than the target of 61 6 million tons which was fixed under the First Five Year Plan for the year 1955 56 The production of oilseeds which was 5 1 million tons in 1946 47 as well as in 1950 51 went up to 5 4 million

tons in 1953-54 and 5 9 million tons in 1954-55 against a target of 5 5 million tons fixed for the year 1955-56 under the First Five Year Plan The production of cotton went up from 2 2 million bales in 1946-47 and 2 9 million bales in 1950-51 to 4 million bales in 1953-54 and 4 3 million bales in 1954-55 as against a target of 4.2 million bales in 1955-56 The production of crystal sugar which was 0 91 million tons in 1946 47 and 1 12 million tons in 1950-51 reached the record figure of 1 6 million tons in 1954-55 as against the target of 1 5 million tons fixed for 1955-56 It is only in the case of jute that the progress has not been so satisfactory But even here the production which was only 1 3 million bales in 1946-47 has been stepped up to 3 2 million bales in 1954-55 as against the target of 5 4 million bales for 1955-56

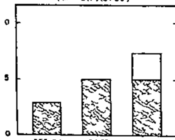
These achievements may appear to be near miracle but they were nevertheless the result of very hard work done by the people of India Some idea of the effort which has gone into making these achievements possible may be obtained from the following figures In 1946-47, there was no irrigation tubewell sunk in the country Between 1947-48 and 1954-55, as many as 5,573 irrigation tubewells have been sunk, and the programme is to raise this cumulative figure to 7,227 by 1955-56 An additional area of 5 1 million acres of land was brought under minor irrigation between 1947-48 and 1950-51 and another 8 1 million acres between 1951 52 and 1954-55 By the end of 1955 56, altogether 16 1 million acres will be covered by minor irrigation Major irrigation works like Damodar Valley, Bakhra Nangal, Tungabhadra etc , which were started after Independence and are acknowledged by even foreign observers to be great feats of engineering achievement, are estimated to bring under irrigation 4 9 million acres by 1954-55 and it is expected that by the end of the First Five Year Plan they will irrigate as much as 7 3 million acres Between 1947-48 and 1953 54, 10 8 lakh tons of chemical fertilisers were put into the soil and it is expected to put another 7 5 lakh tons by 1955 56, bringing up the total figure to 18 3 lakh tons The progress made in this direction since Independence may be gauged from the fact that while in 1946 47 only 0 2 lakh tons of chemical fertilizers were distributed, in 1953 54 as much as 2 9 lakh tons were distributed The distribution of manures went up from 4 8 lakh tons in 1946-47 to 21 0 lakh tons in 1953-54 The total quantity of manures put into the soil between 1947-48 and 1953-54 was 102 lakh tons It is expected that by 1955-56 as much as 142 lakh tons will go into the soil It is obvious that all these measures must have increased the productivity per acre substantially and an indication of this may be obtained from the fact that the average yield per acre for rice rose from 739 lbs in 1947-48 to 82 lbs in 1953 54, of wheat from 599 lbs to 670 lbs , of jowar from 369 lbs to 406 lbs , of bajra from 303 lbs to 332 lbs , of maize from 640 lbs to 709 lbs , of cotton from 80 lbs to 90 lbs and of sugarcane (in terms of raw sugar) from 2,213 lbs to 2,859 lbs Apart from these attempts to increase the average yield per acre, steps were also taken to bring new acreas under cultivation The Central Tractor Organization and the State Tractor Organizations brought as much as about 4 2 million acres of waste land under cultivation between 1947-48 and 1954-55 It is expected that by 1955-56, this cumulative total figure will go up to about 5 million acres The total production potential thus created in terms of foodgrains amounted to 5 9 million tons between 1947-48 and 1953-54 and is expected to reach the figure of 8 2 million tons by the end of 1955-56 All these have involved an investment in agriculture to the tune of Rs 80 2 crores between 1947 48 and 1953-54 by the Central Government alone An idea of the increasing tempo of investment in agriculture since Independence may be obtained from the fact that while in 1946-47 the Central Government spent only Rs 2 6 crores for food production, the expenditure sanctioned by them in 1954-55 was as much as Rs 35 1 crores

Besides the normal Grow More Food measures, the Government launched in October, 1952 a National Extension Service on a country-wide scale The Community Projects and National Extension Blocks managed by this Service have already covered 1 06 lakhs of villages and 68 5 million people, the target being to cover the entire rural area by 1960-61 An expenditure of Rs 21 3 crores has been incurred

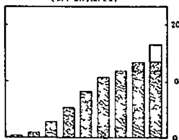
PROGRESS OF IRRIGATION AND AREA RECLAIMED

(PROGRESS VE TOTALS OVER 1947-48)

(a) MAJOR IRRIGATION WORKS†
(M on Acres)

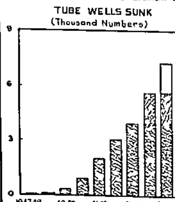


(b) MINOR IRRIGATION WORKS
(M l on Acres)

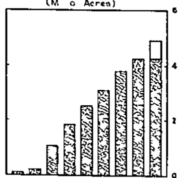


Target
Ach evement

TUBE WELLS SUNK
(Thousand Numbers)



AREA RECLA MED
(M o Acres)

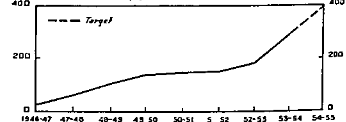


† *Progress ve totals over 1950 51*

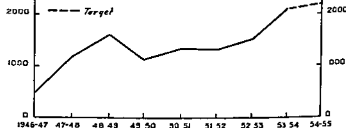
GROW MORE FOOD

A-SUPPLY SCHEMES-DISTRIBUTION

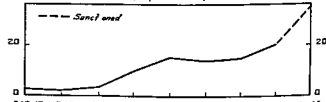
Thousand Tons (a) FERTILIZERS *Thousand Tons*



(b) MANURES



B EXPENDITURE INCURRED BY CENTRAL GOVT
(Rupees C ores)



by the Central Government so far on this Service The Service has thousands of trained village workers one each for a group of 5 to 10 villages and hundreds of experts on agriculture, animal husbandry cooperation and other related subjects at higher levels and its object is to bring to the farmer the results of modern science and technology and to train him so as to improve his efficiency to the maximum extent possible

It is true that the efforts put in so far are still too inadequate and have only touched the fringe of our colossal problems of poverty and backwardness Yet the achievements are by no means small The effect of the progress described above on the general economic life of the country may be seen from the fact that our food imports which amounted to 23 3 lakh tons in 1947 and had gone up to as much as 47 3 lakh tons in 1951 in the dark days of the Bihar famine declined to only 7 7 lakh tons in 1955 Even this small import in 1955 is not required to meet any deficiency in our food supply but only to build up a reserve stock against future emergency Our consumption of cereals per adult has gone up from 13 5 oz per day to 14 8 oz Taking all food stuffs together, our per diem calorie intake rose from 1860 calories (or 1600 calories per capita) to 2 100 calories per adult (or 1800 calories per capita) Our per capita availability of cloth per annum has gone up from 11 5 yards to as much as 15 3 yards The per capita national income (at 1948 49 prices) in respect of agricultural sector increased from Rs 174 9 in 1948 49 to Rs 188 8 in 1953 54 and for all sectors from Rs 246 9 in 1948 49 to Rs 266 5 in 1953 54 The index number of wholesale prices of all commodities has gone down from 457 5 in 1951 to 357 3 and of cereals from 490 to 378

These achievements by themselves are no doubt very encouraging but what is more important is that they have helped to create conditions for much faster progress in future Thanks to the efforts put in during the last 8 years a sound base has been created for the agricultural economy of the country on which we are now in a position not only to build a sound agricultural structure but also a sound industrial structure We are now in a position to think of a much bolder programme for our Second Five Year Plan In fact while the increase in national income is estimated to be of the order of 13 to 14% during the First Five Year Plan period an increase of as much as 25% is now considered to be within practical politics for the Second Five Year Plan period Our irrigation works are every day making more and more water available to the cultivators Our factories are every day providing increasing supplies of chemical fertilizers, insecticides and agricultural implements Our agricultural and animal husbandry colleges have been reorganized to train up a steadily increasing number of qualified workers for the implementation of our development programmes Steps are being taken to set up regulated markets to establish a network of warehouses throughout the country and to strengthen the structure of rural banking so that the cultivator may easily get all the credit that he wants and may not have any undue worry about the price at which he is able to sell his produce Zamindars and other intermediaries have been abolished in a peaceful way and the tenant is being given much better rights on land than ever before Our administrative machinery today is in good gear and our farmers are in good mettle and there is no reason why we should not be able to make rapid progress now that we have been able to get going so far as the agricultural front is concerned

There are however, a few people who from time to time make unfavourable comparison between the progress achieved by our country and that in other countries A careful scrutiny of the facts will show that most of these unfavourable comparisons have no real foundation In fact there are very few countries in the world which have made such a good progress during the first eight years after Independence or during the first 4 years of the launching of their first plan of economic development For instance while during the first eight years of our Independence our agricultural production has gone up by about 18%

in the U S S R which is considered to be a model by some of these critics even 15 years after the Revolution of 1917 agricultural production was actually down by 12 8% During the First Five Year Plan of the U S S R, the agricultural production actually declined by 4 4% while on the contrary our agricultural production has, as mentioned earlier, already shown an increase of as much as 14% during the first four years of the Plan The following table which compares the achievements in regard to the production of certain essential commodities during the first four years of India's First Five Year Plan and the entire five years of the First Five Year Plan of the U S S R may be of some interest in this context

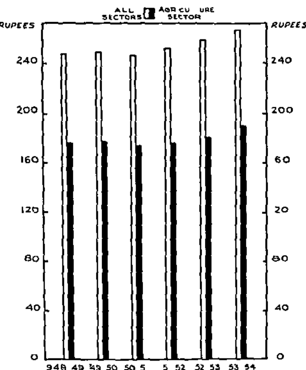
Commodities	U S S R First Five Year Plan (1928 29 to 1932-33)			INDIA First Five Year Plan (1951-52 to 1955-56)	
	(Percentage increase planned for 1932-33 over the base year)		Percentage increase achieved in the fifth year 1932-33 over the base year	Percentage increase planned for 1955-56 over the base year*	Percentage increase achieved in the fourth year 1954-55 over the base year
	Basic	Maximum			
Foodgrains	(+) 36 4	(+) 44 7	(—) 4 4	(+) 14 1	(+) 21 9
Cotton	(+) 133 6	(+) 165 6	(+) 76 9	(+) 43 3	(+) 50·1
Sugar beet Sugarcane	(+) 66 3	(+) 94 1	(—) 34 7	(+) 12 5	(—) 1 3‡
Sugar (crystal)	—	—	—	(+) 34 4	(+) 42 9
Cotton textiles	(+) 59 0	(+) 71 4	(—) 0·8	(+) 26 4@	(+) 34 4@

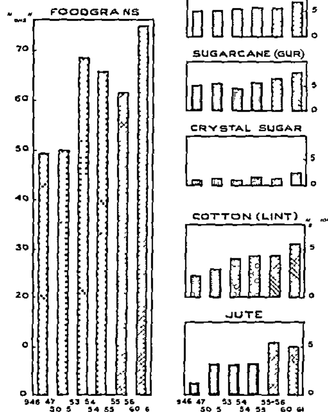
* Base year is 1949-50 in the case of foodgrains and 1950 51 in the case of other commodities

‡ In 1951-52, an increase of 6 9% in sugarcane production over the base year 1950-51 was recorded

@Mill-made cloth only

These comparisons with the U S S R have been made not with a view to taking undue credit to ourselves or to show that country in a relatively unfavourable light but merely to emphasise the point that improvement of economic conditions especially during the first few years of a nation's life is bound to be difficult and this point needs to be borne in mind by those who indulge in thoughtless criticism of our country. We do recognise that in some respects in initial years, the U S S R perhaps faced greater difficulties than we did She had to go through a world war, a revolution, a civil war and a revolt of the farmers Moreover she did not have any cooperation whatsoever from the rest of the world Under the circumstances whatever she did was certainly creditable and once she had been able to lay the foundation, her progress was very rapid On the other hand, it should be also recognised that thanks to the peaceful manner in which we achieved independence and also our policy of dealing with vested interests like princes, landlords or capitalists through the method of persuasion rather than of force, we succeeded in paying much less a price than the U S S R had to pay That undoubtedly gave us a much better start than the U S S R had Be that as it may, it must be admitted that India's performance during the first eight years of her freedom does not suffer in comparison with that of any other country Even in comparison with some of the very


PER CAPITA NATIONAL INCOME
(AT 948 49 PR CES)
ALL SECTORS
AGR CU URE SECTOR
RUPEES
RUPEES
240
200
160
120
80
40
0
240
200
60
20
80
40
0
948 49 49 50 50 5 5 52 52 53 53 54


PRODUCTION
AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES
955 56 AND 960 6 TARGE S
FOODGRA NS
70
60
50
40
30
20
0
0
946 47 50 5 53 54 54 55 55 56 60 6
OILSEEDS
5
0
SUGARCANE (GUR)
5
0
CRYSTAL SUGAR
5
0
COTTON (LINT)
5
0
JUTE
5
0
946 47 50 5 53 54 54 55 55-56 60 61



favourably situated countries of the West, e g, U S A and Canada which have much larger land and other resources per capita, her rate of progress today does not show up very unfavourably Between 1948-49 and 1953-54, India's national income increased by an average of 3% per annum During the 21 years from 1929 to 1950, the national income of U S A increased by 3% per annum and during the 26 years from 1903 to 1929 that of Canada increased by 2 6% per annum

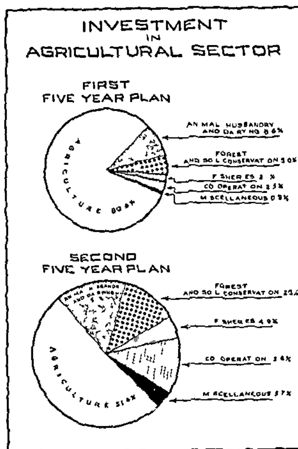
Although these figures may give us some encouragement, there is no reason whatsoever to be complacent Japan increased her national income by 6 7% per annum during the 23 years from 1914 to 1937 Our standard of living today is so poor compared to that of other countries and we have to make up such a long leeway that we have to make at least as much progress as Japan has done if we wish to take our rightful place in the economic field amongst the progressive nations of the world Reassuring as our progress has been so far it will be wrong to have a feeling of over-optimism and to slacken our efforts In the first place about 83% of our cultivated area still depends on the vagaries of the monsoons Until we are able to provide assured water supply to at least 50% of our cultivated land, we cannot say that we are really out of the wood so far as agriculture is concerned Secondly, our population is increasing at the rate of about 5 millions every year requiring an additional amount of over 5 lakh tons of foodgrains even on a very conservative basis Thirdly, with the growing urbanisation of the country there has been a considerable increase in the number of people who depend upon the surplus that the agriculturists bring to the market The marketable surplus in respect of foodgrains in this country is only about 30 to 40% of the total production Hence the problem before us is not merely to increase our food production but really to increase our marketable surplus in proportion to the increase in our requirements This obviously is a much more difficult task Besides, our average standard of living today is still miserably low as compared to other countries Our shortage in protective and supplementary foods like milk, fruits, fish meat eggs etc which are so essential for a balanced diet is much greater than our shortage in cereals With an increase in the income of our people, the demand for these foods as well as for clothing and housing is bound to increase very considerably Our agriculture will have, therefore, to put in much greater efforts than hitherto to meet increased requirements That is why the Government have decided that there should be no slackening of efforts on the agriculture front during the Second Five Year Plan In fact, it is proposed to increase our investment in agriculture under the Second Plan by about 45% over what was provided in the First Plan That is why, it is proposed to increase our production of foodgrains to 75 million tons in 1960 61 as against 65 8 million tons produced in 1954-55, of cotton to 5 5 million bales in 1960 61 as against 4 3 million bales produced in 1954-55, of jute to 5 0 million bales in 1960 61 as against 3 2 million bales produced in 1954-55, of sugarcane (in terms of raw sugar) to 7 7 million tons in 1960 61 as against 5 5 million tons produced in 1954 55, of crystal sugar to 2 2 million tons in 1960 61 from 1 6 million tons produced in 1954 55 and of oilseeds to 7 0 million tons in 1960 61 from 5 9 million tons produced in 1954-55 It is also proposed to increase the production of fruits and vegetables, spices, cashewnut and other crops substantially The overall objective is to step up the index number of agricultural production to 135 in 1960 61 from 114 in 1954-55

Large scale schemes are also proposed to be launched for increasing substantially the production of protective foods like milk, fish, meat, eggs, etc Much greater importance is being paid under the Second Five Year Plan to schemes of animal husbandry, dairying, forestry, soil conservation, fisheries, cooperation, etc, compared to what was done under the First Five Year Plan

The programme of agricultural development under the Second Five Year Plan thus aims at a diversified agricultural economy which will not only increase the income and standard of living of the agriculturists but also sustain the tempo of development in other sectors of the economy Agricultural

development will be thus a necessary supplement to the development of the industrial sector Thereby not only will the additional demand for agricultural commodities generated by industrial development be met by an increased production of these commodities but also sufficient purchasing power would be generated in the agricultural sector to absorb the additional output of manufactured goods

A period of eight years is not a long time in the history of a nation But during these eight short years India has made a progress which far surpasses whatever advance she made during the last 50 years The present generation of Indians may be rightly proud that through their blood, sweat and tears they are laying the foundation for a future India—a sound foundation for which the future generations will be thankful and on which they should be able to build a noble edifice worthy of their great heritage





PLANNING

PLANNING AND THE REORGANISATION OF THE INDIAN ECONOMY

WHY do countries plan ? The question is worth asking If we survey the uses to which the expression has been put since the thirties all over the world we would observe a whole range of motivations and a great variety of plans Within the same country at different stages the expression takes on new meanings, purposes change, new instruments are found Perhaps behind all planning there is a common realisation that the play of individual interest, the search for profit and the working of market forces create serious weaknesses in a national economy Weakness may lie in the small amount of wealth that is raised or in its distribution or in meeting new problems which arise from time to time The State is under constant compulsion to intervene, to take hold of the economy, as it were, and direct its resources to given ends

The objects in view may be short term, as in rehabilitation and reconstruction planning which many countries adopted to repair the damage done by the war They may be of an emergency character, as in preparing for a war or fighting it through , Germany's four year plan comes to mind by way of example Some elements of planning enter into any action taken to cope with an emergency , witness in the United States the extraordinary scope of measures which together added up to the New Deal For the greater part, however, planning is conceived of as a way of fighting poverty, of developing natural, material and human resources and of ensuring a fair distribution of production within society

The pattern of production and the manner in which its instruments are owned and operated in a community also provide much of the explanation for its scheme of distribution Abstractions such as

'State' have been to a large extent a reflection in terms of power and authority of the distribution of the main instruments of production—land, mines and industrial plants—and of the financial institutions that enable these instruments to work The introduction of democracy and the universal vote makes the have nots also a partner, or at any rate, a potential partner in the authority of the State When comparisons are made between the greater ability of some countries than of others to plan the pressures which democracy exerts on the methods and motives of economic planning are sometimes overlooked The measure in which the people are able to express themselves determines very largely how far planning will be a means for fulfilling the total public interest Public policy has to take account of existing facts, the current apparatus of production and other factors, but it must ever look beyond the limiting circumstances of the moment to the scheme of institutions and human relationships which sets the goal

A comparative study of the factors which determine the main contours of public policy in different countries over the greater part of Asia shows how fortunate India has been in her preparation for planning For more than 15 years before the war the welfare of the peasant and the worker and the need to limit the power of private interests had been the theme of numerous resolutions in the Indian National Congress The National Planning Committee before the war undertook valuable studies and although its work was unfinished, it left a stamp on public thinking The method of planning was widely accepted but its content was uncertain The Bombay Plan was a bold piece of work in many ways but because it was somewhat lacking in social vision and saw the problem of planning as being mainly one of spending on development, its influence on public opinion was not very lasting There were deeper urges in national development which this plan left unsatisfied

The filling in of social and economic policy was to be undertaken as soon as freedom came Unexpected events, however put off matters until early 1950, when the new Constitution came into force and India became a Republic This had been preceded by more than two years of economic ferment which included refugee movements rehabilitation programmes decontrol and re imposition of controls uncertainties in import policy, devaluation of the rupee, persistent shortage of food and raw materials and a considerable amount of inflation During this period short term problems continually pressed upon public attention and problems of national planning were for a while pushed into the background

II

It was in this situation that the Planning Commission was set the task of preparing the first national plan of social and economic development The integration of princely territories with the rest of the country had made the task politically feasible This great gain was, however counterbalanced by the fact that the first plan had certain urgent and critical problems to wrestle with notably inflationary pressures shortage of food and raw materials and the rehabilitation of rail transport These problems might easily have come in the way of formulation of more fundamental views about the economic structure which was to be built up and the speed with which this was to be brought into existence

There is no inherent conflict between immediate economic tasks and basic social policy so long as both are seen as part of the same perspective This was the approach in the First Five Year plan While concentrating resources on increasing agricultural production and insisting that the existing machinery of industrial production (most of it in the private sector) should be fully utilised it provided atleast the first framework of a social and economic policy which had in it all the elements of what has since been described as the socialistic pattern of society It was expected that the first steps which the Plan recommended would steadily lead, in the words of the Constitution, to a social order in which justice social, economic

investment The belief that government should take up mainly basic industries has its own logic, but it is associated also with an earlier situation when governments were uncertain of their control over economic life as a whole and felt it important to occupy various key points It might therefore be difficult to maintain for very long the view that the institution of suitable forms of public management for private management in existing industries and branches of commercial activity has a low priority for stepping up the rate of economic development, the opposite is more likely to be true

The significance of the public sector consists less in the fact that it is a sector operated by or under the direction of government, as in the fact that it is worked in community interest and its profits go to the community as a whole The same purpose can be secured in several parts of the economy through the expansion of the cooperative sector The cooperative principle is essentially a way of reconciling social interest with the claims of individuals It achieves community management without identifying it with State management, to that extent it protects the freedom of individuals and groups against encroachments both from the authority of the State and from the pursuit of narrow interest by individuals functioning directly or through various forms of company organisation Cooperative forms of operation, management and ownership are especially suited to agriculture, rural trade and small industries and much construction work and supply of consumer goods in urban areas can also be undertaken through them These fields are therefore marked out clearly enough for development through the cooperative sector The scope for this sector was not defined sufficiently clearly in the First Five-Year Plan and the steps taken can be described best as being of a preparatory character—survey of problems, establishing certain leading institutions and training of cooperative personnel The task of building up a large cooperative sector on sound lines remains over for the Second Five-Year Plan

The growth of the cooperative and public sectors will be greatly facilitated by the establishment of the State Bank of India This is one of the outstanding developments of the first five-year period, which indicated a degree of preparedness to reconsider the role of all financial institutions and their organisation in terms of the needs of economic development

Planning in India, as in other democratic countries, assumes the existence of a private sector of appreciable size There is no desire to concentrate all activities in the public sector There is indeed a body of opinion in favour of private initiative and enterprise which would enable small men in particular to develop new economic activities and enhance their contribution to the national output The existence of such a free sector in fields which do not fall appropriately into the public sector or the cooperative sector is recognised as a valuable feature of Indian planning Institutions such as State Finance Corporations, the Industrial Finance Corporation and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India have their *raison d'etre* in this widely held view There is, however, one section of the private sector which, while it continues, has enormous importance for national planning and for the working of the economy as a whole, namely, organised industry The Industries Development and Regulation Act of 1951 embodied a certain view as to the functioning of the organised private sector in relation to planning The place which this sector comes to occupy in the future economic structure will depend largely on the effect given to this legislation in letter and in spirit

The organised private sector is expected to fall within the framework of national planning, for instance, for the determination of production targets, location of enterprises, linking wherever necessary with particular sources of supply for raw materials and, to the extent possible, assigning the manufacture of parts or accessories or of stages in production to small-scale units In the second place, while planning within the private sector cannot be as detailed as in the public sector, the agency for such planning is conceived to be a development council in each industry or group of industries which includes representatives of

management, labour, technicians and consumers and assumes a degree of responsibility for the overall development of the industry In the third place, conflicts between labour and management which are so conspicuous a feature of the economic history of western countries, have little place in an under-developed country seeking to establish a welfare State by mobilising all the available resources These various considerations form part of the approach of the First Five Year Plan To some extent they have been implemented but greater attention has to be given to them in the Second Five-Year Plan

To bring about an economic framework in which the public sector, the cooperative sector the organised private sector and the field of individual enterprise and initiative are moving towards a state of stable relative balance between one another, the problem of inequalities in income and wealth calls for a fresh approach In under-developed countries if the distribution of wealth and income is left to take care of itself, increased development expenditure introduces greater distortion and the balanced structure aimed at cannot be established Reduction in disparities in income and wealth is a complex process which requires on the one hand a rapidly growing economy with increase in the volume of employment and steady expansion in social services and, on the other specific measures of redistribution The latter fall broadly into two groups namely, those relating to land and those which bear on the disposal of income and wealth generally The progress of land reform during the first plan period has prepared the ground for the imposition of ceilings on agricultural holdings Conditions are now also ripe for definite steps in relation to the redistribution of income and wealth

Redistribution of land will intensify the basic problem of agriculture as an industry namely small and uneconomic agricultural holdings There is general recognition that the unit of management in agriculture has to be enlarged if agricultural production is to increase in adequate measure and the full benefits of extension services of new techniques and of investment undertaken by the government are to be realised In principle, it is agreed that it is mainly through cooperative farming and the success of cooperative village management that the unit of management in agriculture can be enlarged and land resources fully developed Proposals made on this subject in the First Five Year Plan were not followed by practical action to any extent Perhaps the increase in agricultural production achieved during the last few years may have even contributed to a temporary shifting of interest from the fundamental problems of Indian agriculture The reorganisation of agriculture as an industry, through enlargement of the unit of management, is a far reaching objective on which it is imperative that substantial progress should be made during the second Plan

In an economy in which there is an enormous amount of under-employment in rural areas agriculture is small scale and intensive in character and, instead of decrease in numbers dependent on land it may take a few years before the increase in employment opportunities comes to be commensurate with the growth in population the pattern of industrialisation has necessarily to be different from that evolved in the more advanced countries This subject has recently been considered by the Village and Small scale Industries (Second Five Year Plan) Committee which while confirming the approach adopted in the First Five Year Plan has elaborated the idea of decentralisation in industry Decentralisation is a two-fold process namely on the one hand securing production to the maximum extent through small scale units and on the other dispersing industry to small towns which are linked as far as possible with the surrounding rural areas Next to the reorganisation of agriculture including agricultural marketing and processing and the organisation of rural trade on cooperative lines the development of village and small industries as an integral part of an expanding and technologically progressive economic structure is the most vital task for the next few years Over the decades as industry and commerce have expanded the industrial and rural economies have in some ways fallen apart Planned economic development has meaning in the measure

in which it achieves integration between the industrial and the rural economies, so that their parallel and inter-dependent growth brings the maximum benefit to the economy as a whole and, more especially, to those sections of the rural population which are in a position of disadvantage in terms of income, standard of living and employment opportunity

None of the problems of reorganisation of the economy which have been briefly set out above are new They have existed much in their present form for more than half a century and, more actually, during the past 20 or 30 years Sometimes they have been taken for granted, without sufficient practical attention being given to them During the past eight years greater progress had been hoped for. The success of the First Five-Year Plan and the achievement of many of its material targets has emphasised the need to place these problems in the forefront of programmes for the next planning period Success in the Second Five-Year Plan will be judged, less by the tests which were so far acceptable, as by the measure in which the basic problems outlined above are resolved and the socialistic pattern of society brought nearer.

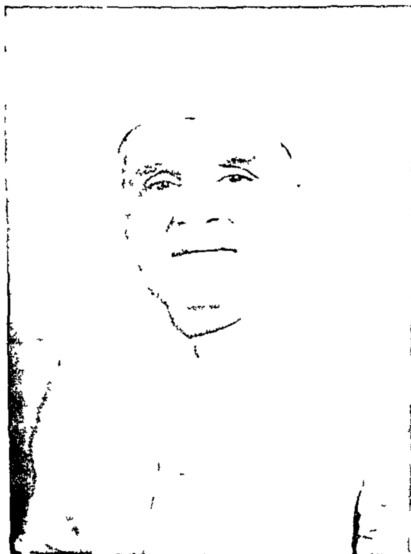


Shri U. N. Dhebar



Sentinel at the post

Shri Bhim Sen Sachhar



A Moralist in Politics



OUR CONSTITUTION



" For forms of Government, let fools contest,
That which is best administered is best "

WE have left behind the age of benevolent despots in whose favour Sir Alexander Pope defended any system of government which happened to perform its functions efficiently The dictum has no relevancy in a democratic society where emphasis is on self government by the people The Constitution of India is a happy blending of two divergent thoughts, one purely idealistic and the other severely practical While the Constitution invests the units or the states with internal self government, there is provision for taking all their powers in times of emergency or deadlock by the President Again the local governments within a State like Panchayats, district boards or municipalities may be superseded by the State Governments which exercise full control over these institutions While our Constitution has kept in view the practical aspects of a sound administration, it has also scrupulously preserved the principle of the sovereignty of the people

It would be beyond the scope of this chapter to be anything more than the barest outline of the historic background of our Constitution After the second world war, the shape of political destiny of India had assumed a clearer perspective and the British Government made sincere efforts for the transference of power The failure of the Cripps Mission was something of a set back but the Cabinet delegation which was thereafter sent to India was instructed to arrive at some agreed settlement The All India Constituent Assembly came into being on 9th December, 1946, but unfortunately it could not achieve very much owing to the intransigence of the representatives of the Muslim League Party, who kept on demanding a separate Constituent Assembly for the Muslim portion of British India

The outstanding achievement of the Constituent Assembly before the passing of the India Independence Act was the historic objectives resolution of 22nd January, 1947

The India Independence Act passed by the British Parliament set up, with effect from 15th August, 1947, two new dominions of India and Pakistan The Act did not provide any constitutional structure for these two dominions which were, however, empowered to lay down their own forms of Government without any further legislation on the part of the British Parliament The Constituent

Assembly of the Indian Dominion, started its work The Constituent Assembly set before itself the task of giving a Constitution to India and for this purpose various sub committees were appointed including the Drafting Committee which presented a draft constitution in February, 1948 The draft was considered by the Constituent Assembly clause by clause in its sittings which commenced on November 15, 1948, and set up a record of achievement by concluding its proceedings on 26th November, 1949, on which date the Constitution received the signature of the President of the Assembly The Constitution came into force on 26th January 1950, which is celebrated as a national event throughout the territory of India

Though a part of the administrative framework of our Constitution is largely borrowed from the United States of America, Canada and Australia, the pattern of government follows closely the British parliamentary system The Drafting Committee adapted features of other governments to the peculiar conditions of India and it is a tribute to their wisdom as also to the genius of the Indian people that the Constitution has so far worked well The chapters on fundamental rights and directive principles of policy have a special significance for the people of India, though the concept of laving down such principles in this form is not new

II

Though the Constitution of India like that of the United States of America is " written " it has the merit of relative flexibility as opposed to the rigidity of the American Constitution A rigid constitution is one which broadly speaking cannot be amended except by a special process and has an authority superior to that of the other laws of the State The flexible constitution on the other hand permits all laws to be passed in the same manner The best illustration of a flexible constitution is that of the United Kingdom A bill for changing the constitution of the House of Commons can be enacted with the same facility as the investment of fresh powers to a local authority A bare parliamentary majority is all that is required to bring about the most revolutionary legislation in Great Britain In the United States of America on the other hand an amendment of the Constitution can be initiated at the instance of two thirds of both Houses of Congress or by a convention called by the Congress at the request of the legislatures of two thirds of the States Amendments initiated by Congress or by convention may be ratified either by the legislatures of three fourths of the States (which are 48 in number) or by a convention of three fourths of the States, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress In practice it means that 13 States with a combined population of less than that of the single State of the New York can prevent the remaining 35 States from realising their will, in other words one-tenth of the population can obstruct the will of the nine tenths No wonder there have been only 21 amendments of the Constitution in the United States of America since its inception in 1789

Some parts of our Constitution may be amended by a simple majority in both Houses of Parliament Under Article 4, for instance, new States may be created and the boundaries of existing States re arranged by a vote of a bare majority of the two Houses of Parliament Again, Parliament, according to Article 11, may make any provision with respect to the ' acquisition and termination " of citizenship and matters ancillary thereto by a bare majority A greater part of the Constitution, however, could be amended by a majority of the total membership of not less than two thirds of those present in each House of Parliament In the words of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, ' While we want this Constitution to be as solid and permanent as we can make it, there is no permanence in constitutions There should be a certain flexibility If you make anything rigid and perm nt, you stop the ion's growth, the growth of a living, vital organic people In any event, we t make this C ion so rigid that it cannot be adapted to changing conditions When the wo urmoil and assing through a very swift period of transition, what we may do today ma olly appli rrow "

The amendments which have been made to our Constitution since 1950 show that its framers intended it to reflect the voice of the prevailing opinion and sentiments

The Constitution has provided for a distribution of powers between the Government of the Centre and the Governments of the different units called States composing the Union of India These units at the moment are classified into part A, part B, and part C States, but as a result of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, it is expected that all States would assume the same status except for a few areas which would be centrally administered The powers between the Union and the State Governments are classified under lists 1, 2 and 3 respectively called the Union, the State and the Concurrent Lists The unspecified or the residuary powers are to be exercised by the Union * This is in sharp contrast to the American Constitution where the Federal Government can exercise only enumerated powers while the residuary powers vest in the States According to some authorities the true test of a Federal Government is that powers of the Central Government should be enumerated and the residue left to the State Governments Lord Haldane went so far as to say in the case of *Attorney General for the Commonwealth of Australia vs Colonial Sugar Refining Co Ltd* that the Canadian Constitution which by virtue of the British North America Act, 1867, vested the residuary powers in the centre could not be regarded as federal This does not appear to be the correct view and the Constitution of India although it vests the residuary powers in the Central Government is federal in the sense that powers are divided between the Centre and regional governments within coordinated and independent spheres

Like many written constitutions, the constitution of India lays great emphasis on the enjoyment by its citizens and residents of certain fundamental rights Broadly speaking there is to be equality before law for all persons residing in India and this privilege is not confined to the citizens of India As for its own citizens no person is to be denied his right or opportunity on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, residence or any one of them There are to be no privileged classes and untouchability which used to be the bane of the country has been abolished The citizens of India are to enjoy the seven freedoms of speech, of assembly, of association, of movement, of residence, of dealing with property and of following an avocation These are to be curtailed only in the interests of general, social and public order In a land of many religions and languages, it is truly remarkable that no predominance or superiority is given to the tenets or doctrines of any faith There is no "established Church" in India and Article 25 guarantees freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion This provision in the Constitution is an impressive proof of the Indian instinct of tolerance It is a matter for pride that toleration and secularism should have been achieved in our country without any strife or controversy when in other countries wars have been waged for centuries for even a partial attainment of this objective

The right to hold property has been subjected to some kind of compromise and it cannot be said that even now a stage of finality has been reached On the one hand Article 31 declares that "no person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law", the right of "eminent domain" which is a true attribute of sovereignty has on the other hand, been recognized in the succeeding paragraph of this Article "Eminent domain' is the right of a sovereign to acquire private property to be used upon making just compensation Our Constitution while recognising the existence of this right has thought it fit to surround it with appropriate limitations Property could be acquired for a public purpose on payment of compensation but it is to be observed that according to the latest amendment the basis of compensation provided by law is not a justiciable issue In other words the courts are not competent to go into the question whether a certain law provides for adequate compensation or not During recent years it has been found necessary to provide for exigencies when acquisition of property is to be made without payment of compensation It is the

* Article 248

declared policy of our Government that the objective to be achieved is a socialist pattern of society and it would be impossible to attain this end if compensation is to be paid for acquisition of large *zamindaris* and other undertakings for a public purpose The Constitution has, therefore made a provision for acquisition of estates in the public interest or even the extinguishment or modification of rights in public utility under takings without payment of any compensation Such laws however, must receive the assent of the President

The enforcement of fundamental rights, or their abridgement or curtailment are justiciable issues before the highest courts through the remedy of Writs of *Mandamus* by taking out appropriate *prohition* and *Certiorai* and Habeas Corpus In addition to the fundamental rights which can be enforced through judicial process certain directive principles have been laid down for the guidance of the Governments concerned The foremost of these relate to the provision of adequate economic and political safeguards for the attainment of the ideal of social justice The village Panchayats, the lowest democratic units, have to be encouraged and organised There must be guaranteed right to work, to education, and to public assistance in certain cases These must be provided a living wage for the workers and there should be provision for free and compulsory education for all the children The interests of the weaker and backward sections of the community should be promoted to prevent any social injustice and exploitation There must be an all round effort to bring about an improvement in the standard of living and health There must be a separation of the judiciary from the executive and lastly promotion of international peace and security is enjoined

III

The President who is elected through an electoral college by the indirect method of election, is the head of the Indian Republic The Electoral College consists of the elected members of both Houses of Parliament and the elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States The election is based on the principle of proportional representation and it is intended that the weight of a State in the election of the President shall be roughly proportional to its population The President holds his office for a term of five years and his powers are very much like those of the British sovereign Herein lies the essential difference between the Presidential Government of the American pattern and the Parliamentary system as it prevails in England The Indian President is in reality the mouth piece of the Government in power unlike the American President who chooses his own executive irrespective of the party position in the Congress The President in India chooses the Prime Minister who, in turn, selects his colleagues of Council of Ministers All executive orders are issued in the name of the President and cannot be questioned if they are duly authenticated All the Ministers in theory hold office at the pleasure of the President

The President also enjoys legislative powers inasmuch as he issues Ordinances when the Legis lature is not in session but the power so exercised is in reality the power of the Government The President is to act in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and he can be impeached for its violation on a charge being preferred by either House of Parliament, on the initiation of at least one fourth members of the House and the resolution being passed by two thirds of the total membership of the House On a charge being so preferred by one House, the investigation of the charge takes place by the other, and the President has the right to appear and to be represented at such investigation If two thirds majority of the total membership of the House by which the charge is investigated is of the opinion that it has been established, a resolution to this effect shall result in the removal of the President from his office

There is the Vice President of the Union who acts for the President during his temporary absence but in case of a vacancy he does not take over as President for the remainder of the term as is the case in America In such a contingency a new President has to be elected The Vice President s term of office is also five years

Though the President acts according to the advice of the Government in power, he may exercise

some of his functions independently of it The President under Article 81 has the power to dissolve the House of the People. It is intended that that power should be exercised on the advice of the Prime Minister but it is conceivable that he may exercise this right independently of him If the majority in favour of the Government in power is nominal or the President has reason to believe that the opinion is overwhelmingly against the Prime Minister's Government, he may dissolve the Parliament to obtain a fresh vote of the people This is a great reserve power, but such a prerogative is to be exercised only in the interests of the people Some of the critics have observed that the power under Article 85 is capable of being abused by an autocratic President, who is so minded and is not favourably disposed towards the party or the Government in power India has yet to develop her own conventions and the working of the Constitution so far augurs well for the future. The President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, is an emblem of correctness in this respect and there has been the closest harmony between him and the Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru Between themselves they have truly laid the foundations of a stable Parliamentary Government which in the last analysis can work satisfactorily when there is a respect for the law of the land both written and conventional The edifice of a parliamentary system can be laid only on the foundations of constitutional conventions

The other important power which the President can exercise in accordance with the Constitution is his right to address and send messages to either House of Parliament That such a power is intended to be exercised independently is clear from the omission that such a message should be sent on the advice of the Government There is a provision in the Irish Constitution that a message of this character must receive the approval of the Government and if the framers of the Constitution had intended the discretion of the President to be similarly restrained, it could have been so mentioned Thus it is possible that a hasty decision of the House may be reviewed on the impartial and sagacious advice of a true leader who occupies the position of President in times of internal strife and controversy There is, of course, the remote possibility of the misuse of such power and only time can show whether it is designed to ensure harmonious working of the Constitution

The President also has a right to veto Bills other than money Bills But this veto is really a request for reconsideration because if the Bill is again sent up to him, he is bound to give assent to it The President has no power to appoint public servants of his own choice as in the case of the American President The Constitution of America is really based on the Doctrine of Separation of Powers as propounded by Montesquieu whose treatise on *Esprit de Lois* had created a profound impression in the minds of the eighteenth century thinkers The Founding Fathers who framed the American Constitution had drunk deep of the philosophy of Montesquieu who characterised the concentration of the executive, legislative and judicial powers in the same person or body of persons as the very definition of tyranny To quote the words of Thomas Jefferson, "The concentrating of these three powers in the same hand is precisely the definition of despotic Government It will be no alleviation that these powers will be exercised by a plurality of hands and not by a single one, 173 despots would surely be as oppressive as one " Madison was equally emphatical, " The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judicial, in the same hands, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny " No concept of Government was so widely accepted by all the statesmen whose genius brought into being the American nation as was the doctrine of separation of governmental powers It is indeed interesting that Montesquieu propounded his theory on the impression which he derived from the working of the British Government of those times Now it is clear beyond dispute that the British system of Government is based on the closest linking of the executive and the legislature inasmuch as the majority party in the Parliament forms the executive of the State and it is surprising that Montesquieu should have arrived at an opposite conclusion because the Cabinet Government had come to stay in England at the time when he wrote

Our system of Government as opposed to that of the United States of America is based on the British Parliamentary model The Prime Minister, who occupies the pivotal position in the executive, provides the closest link between the legislature and the executive Government of the Union He is the leader of the party in power and is chosen as such by the President He reflects the majority view of the legislature to ensure the requisite co-operation between the two arms of the State, namely, the legislature and the executive The President in America holds his office independently of the Congress and as the American history shows, there have been times when his views on important national policies were in direct conflict with those of the legislature

Although the Council of Ministers chosen by the Prime Minister may be composed of members of both Houses, it is collectively responsible only to the Lower House, namely, the Lok Sabha The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the House and the distribution of departments among the Ministers is a matter for the Prime Minister to determine A Minister on appointment need not necessarily be a member of Parliament nor need he necessarily resign on losing his seat But if for a period of six consecutive months he is not a member of either House of Parliament he automatically ceases to hold office

IV

The Union Legislature consists of two Houses of Parliament the Lok Sabha, like the British House of Commons and the Rajya Sabha, which unlike the House of Lords, is elected and partly nominated and not hereditary The Parliament's function is to criticise and legislate and it meets twice a year and not more than six months should elapse between the date on which it is prorogued and the commencement of the next session The Lok Sabha is elected on the principle of population and no weightage is given to the States as such It is so arranged that there should be one member for every 750,000 of the population and not more than one member for every 500,000 of the population so that the proportion between the number of members for, and the population of, a constituency is as nearly as possible uniform throughout India The delimitation of constituencies must be done by an Act of Parliament and the constitutional ratio between the number of members for a constituency and its population must be based on the last published census figures In the allocation of seats in the Rajya Sabha some recognition is given to the principle of State representation but it is not equal representation for each State as is the case in America For instance, Assam sends six members to the Rajya Sabha, whereas Uttar Pradesh has a quota of 31 Moreover, the President can also nominate persons for the Rajya Sabha, which is not exclusively confined to elected members It may also be mentioned that the number of seats allocated to different States may be altered as a result of reorganisation of boundaries A portion of the Rajya Sabha is elected by proportional representation with a single transferable vote

The term of the Lok Sabha is five years while the Rajya Sabha is renewed by the retirement of one-third of its members every second year The Rajya Sabha provides adequate opportunities for persons of eminence and experience who are not disposed to take part in electioneering or to make politics a profession Each House of Parliament regulates its own procedure and it has been so prescribed as to ensure adequate discussion of the measures which the Government in power wishes to introduce As in other countries it is provided that blocking or filibustering could be adequately restrained and kept within bounds

V

The component parts of the Union are called States and though they are not strictly speaking "federating" units, sufficient provision has been made for a large measure of self government consistent with national security and well being As has been pointed out before, the residuary powers vest in the Union and this makes the Centre comparatively stronger and the States relatively weaker At present there are

three categories classified as Part A, part B and Part C States Part A States roughly speaking are the provinces which formed the British India before August 1947, while part B states constitute what was princely India of pre-independence days Part C territories are a very small proportion of the total area and comprise the small units like Ajmer, Bhopal, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh etc As a result of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, Part C States are expected to be abolished altogether while part B States will be merged in part A States which will be reorganised more or less on linguistic and administrative considerations

The head of each State is the Governor for part A States and Rajpramukh for part B States In either case he is a constitutional figurehead and acts on the advice of Council of Ministers headed by the Chief Minister The Rajpramukh is usually a representative of the ruling family of the senior units which formed the State Like other executive heads, the Governor or a Rajpramukh cannot hold any other office of profit and has to resign his membership of the legislature if he is appointed to that office He is appointed by the President and his term of office is five years Unlike his American counter part who is an elected representative, the Governor is appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Prime Minister

The Governor of a State is required to exercise some of his functions according to his discretion (Article 163) The Constitution, however, does not specify the discretionary field of the Governor but it does contemplate the special circumstances in which the head of the State will receive instructions from the President which he must follow whatever the advice of his ministers may be The Governor may be guided by the President in the choice of the Chief Minister or the summoning of legislature and again when the President suspends the constitution of a State, he exercises his powers in the State as the representative of the President Subject to these qualifications, the relations between the head of the State and Council of Ministers resemble those between the President and his Council of Ministers All the powers which he exercises are on the advice of the Council of Ministers

VI

The principle of Separation of Judiciary from the Executive enjoined in Article 50 of the Constitution has been given practical effect in the institutions of the Supreme Court and the State High Courts It is true that the appointing authority in either case is the President of the Union But the source of their recruitment and the traditions of their upbringing ensure that the judges can be trusted to decide questions between citizens and State in an impartial manner The role of judiciary in any civilized society is extremely important and more so in countries which are governed by written constitutions It is the judges who have to determine whether there has been any infraction or transgression of the law by the Executive In a federal constitution they have further to determine whether the law enacted by the legislature is in conformity with the constitution In the United States of America where the amendment of the Constitution is by no means an easy process, judges of the Supreme Court have even assumed the role of legislators by declaring valid such laws as were necessitated by the great social and economic changes It is courts, which have determined, when called upon to do so, whether a particular law is within the competence of a State or a Union legislature and in this sphere the judges have to act as arbitrators between the rival interests of the nation as a whole and the different States composing the Union

The Supreme Court in India has the jurisdiction to determine any disputes between Government of India and one or more States, or between the Government of India and any State or States on one side and one or more other States on the other or between two or more States, insofar as such disputes involve questions about the existence of a legal right This is the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court In addition, the Supreme Court also acts as a unifying factor by hearing civil and criminal appeals from the State High

juggler charmed these snakes with his lullaby songs and removed their fangs and stings The concept of reversion of paramountcy to each prince was the most dangerous doctrine ever advanced in politics The old imperialist John Bull wanted to leave India as a land of warring over-lords, each at the throat of the other, each striving to squeeze in and squeeze out, each looking back to the good old *John Bull It was a fiendish delight with which John Bull argued that, on the lapse of the British* paramountcy, the old sovereignty of the ancient princes would revive like a sphynx out of its own ashes, and that the old sovereignty of the princes would revert to them after the withdrawal of the British Rule The British Imperialism wanted to see us in a state of turmoil and confusion from which we had been rescued in the 17th and 18th century by the Britishers themselves "Et tu Brute ! This is the most unkindest cut of all " It was an amazing piece of political chicanery But the Sardar's same old iron hand in velvet gloves came into play and tackled the 565 bundles of mischief and purged those States with a sweet amiableness

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WITHOUT TEARS

While in the international sphere we have adopted the Panchshila, the domestic scene has been revitalised by the most momentous declaration in the Avadi Congress in 1955 that internally India's goal is socialism It will be a doctrine of equality reached through non-violence and has been achieved through a "revolution without tears" The pace may be tardy to start with, but the goal has been set and we have to march towards this goal according to the temper of the times The dissolution of the mighty wealth and pelf will come about with the will and consent of the wealthy There will be no need to make them disgorge their ill-gotten riches through blood-shed, but they will part with it unwittingly and smilingly The socialism of a red variety as a doctrine culminated in the West in blood-shed and ultimately in the implanting of a totalitarian dictatorship in U S S R and the socialism of a pink variety in China and Yugosalavia, through a civil war and a milder form of violence But in India the birth of socialism will be like the rising "aruna," the morning sun after the pitch dark of a moonless night This sun-rise will be neither red nor pink but will be the harbinger of golden shafts of light to dispel darnkess, to rouse the sleepy, to enliven the air, to refresh the atmosphere, to warm up the earth, to infuse life into soil, to sprout the plant life and to bring joy all round The process may be slow, but it will be steady and sure

REVOLUTION IN SPIRIT

This slow process has been set on foot by our great Seer and Savant Vinoba Bhave, the solitary disciple of our Master His technique of a peaceful revolution is an inspiration from Gandhiji The unseen hand of the Master is there Vinoba Bhave has ushered in a *spiritual democracy* and a *spiritual revolution* The plane on which he works is neither parliament nor politics nor the familiar field of economic struggles and class wars His field of work is the domain of a Savant and a Seer while the Political and *Parliamentary Democracy* is being worked out by the Congress under Nehru The Bhoodan, Sampatti Dan, Shramdan are household words to conjure up a slow and silent revolution that is working through the minds of the people onwards towards the goal of bloodless socialism

PITFALLS

(i) Communalism and provincialism

While the Democracy and Revolution in India are going ahead apace, we need not lose sight of the pitfalls and dangers that may come in our way These dangers are inherent in the very system itself and will therefore have to be guarded against The greatest danger proceeds from communalism,

sectarianism, linguism and provincialism These are all the inverted names of the same evil and are born out of a narrow parochial outlook It is nursed by a twisted thinking, shallow vision, escapist refuge in the past or jerky leap into the future, divorced from the reality of the present, creation of close and selfish preserves and a blind appeal to a blind faith Such an approach to life comes to one who builds a narrow wall around himself out of some real or apprehended danger It cannot come to one who has an eagle's broad view of things and who flies in freedom, away from the narrow confines of a prisoner's mind The danger arises out of Hindu-Sikh gulf in the Punjab, the Gujrat-Maratha gulf in the West, the lingual gulf in the South and the age-old Bengal-Behari gulf in the East The States Reorganisation Commission has sought to bridge these gulfs and evolve a nationalistic distribution of the States But the recommendations of the Commission have created more problems than solved them It was the suggestion of a zonal system from the Prime Minister that has poured soothing oil on the troubled waters The concept of five zones of India is a master stroke that will go down in the history as a great unifying force While giving full scope to the local elements for self-expression, the over all supervision of zonal Advisory Councils will soothe the parochial feelings and will solve the regional and zonal problems from an overall nationalistic point of view The fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies engendered by the localised feuds and accentuated by a fear of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission will now be resolved into mighty centripetal and nation-building force We are however, yet not out of the wood and we have to fight this parochialism

The next danger comes from religion, or rather, to put it more correctly, from a pseudo religiousity India has been the home of religions and has worked for a cohesive tolerant religious life The sine-qua non of India's culture has been to absorb the currents of faiths from times immemorial, so as to swell them into a mighty ocean of faith The background of India's culture is that all faiths are one leading to the same goal, like streams leading to the common ocean India's Seers and Savants from time to time have preached the same gospel through the ages The essence of India's philosophy has been worked out on the ethical principle of ' live and let live " The prophets of various religions have been adopted into the Pantheon of Hindu Mythology Christianity was the earliest alien Faith to land in India and to be adopted as a native of the soil The legend of the arrival of Christ's Disciple St Thomas in the South 1900 years ago shows how, within a century of Jesus Christ's crucifixion, Syrian Christians lived in amity with the Hindus Thus true Christianity was embraced as one of the many faiths in the Hindu Pantheon and has flourished here as an Indian faith for 19 centuries Islam came and lived side by side, and its fusion evolved into the Bhakti Cult in the Middle Ages, and the gospel of Kabir, Farid, Mian-Mir, and Chisty, and took the shape of Din-e-Ellahi under Akbar This cult travelled abroad even into Persia and Afghanistan where it reappeared in the form of Sufism, preached by a poet like Saddi and religious reformers like Bahaulla The Muslim current in the Indian philosophy had thus a stimulating and evolutionary effect in the creation of an Indian mind The contribution of Muslim saints and prophets has gone a long way towards spreading eclecticism in India The Naqshbunds, Qadianis, Ismailis and others are the outcome of this impact of a liberal philosophy

Sikhism followed as a doctrine of common brotherhood, although it took a militant shape against the then ruling dynasty but in its gospel Sikhism was the high-light of Vedant, Bhakti and liberalism The sayings of Muslim saints like Kabir and Farid form an integral part of the Sikh scripture Guru Granth Sahib

The same principle of religious tolerance has been incorporated into our Constitution, which guarantees the freedom of speech and religion and the propagation of faith This incorporation of the very essense of our culture into our Constitution is the supreme achievement of our democracy But it

is out of this very tolerance and out of this very spirit of indulgence that the dangers arise The British Imperialists used religion as the thin end of a wedge to divide an Indian from an Indian, in order to promote his well-known policy of "*divide et impera*" Religion as a cohesive force was the height of our glory But the same religion, practised as a pseudo-doctrine of narrow thinking, came to be the depth of our debasement and fall The British Imperialists took advantage of our tolerance and ethical life The narrow communalists, either out of selfish motives with an axe to grind, or on being egged on by some insidious elements, may excite religious passions and fanatic fury to serve their own ends to serve the policy of a third power In the midst of the power-politics in the world today, it cannot be lost sight of that religion is likely to be pressed into service as a lever to tilt the balance of power in the world Thus, while the communist world treats religion as an article of an individual and personal faith rather than as an organised entity, the capitalist countries may bank on it as a handy medium to split up the population of a country vertically rather than horizontally The communists divide mankind into horizontal layers of classes one above the other on an economic basis, while the capitalist ideology cuts them up into vertical divisions according to the religious faith or political affiliation Our democracy in India will have to keep a vigil against the intrusions of either of this dividing dogma Communism does not decry religion as a personal faith, but it has no place for religion as an entity playing a part in the economic and political life of a country On the other hand capitalism today basks in the warmth of religion When a religion descends down to the level of quarrels with a political system or an economic doctrine, it is departure from its lofty idealism of faith and resurrection We have therefore to see that while religion flourishes as a doctrine of tolerance, it does not deteriorate into a political faction either for internal disruption or as a mouth-piece of a foreign system This danger calls for vigilance

(ii) Profiteer and Capitalist

The second danger comes from another group of people having a different outlook in life These are our industrialists and commercial classes These people have been the spoilt children of British bureacracy They were ladled out big monopolies, concessions, licences by the ruling class during the wars or political emergencies They made sordid money through still more sordid means, irrespective of the Law or moral duty or ethical principles They will naturally bank on the so-called *laissez faire,* a free hand in a free-for-all bout known as free-trade The doctrine of free-trade has been adumbrated for the last 200 years, beginning with John Staurt Mill and ending up with Churchill This conservative doctrine of *laissez-faire* has been held out to be a necessary concomitant of democracy Political democracy and *laissez faire* are unholy pals The parliamentarian in the political democracy and the industrialist in the sphere of *laissez-faire* have, throughout history, joined hands to confine the power and the wealth to the upper middle classes at the expense of the poor down trodden masses The parliamentarians work the political democracy from above in the political and administrative field to the advantage of the industrialists, who believe in free trade This combination spells ruin for the common man It was tried in the 19th century in England and was found wanting This should not be allowed to flourish in India The grabbing of seats through party caucus, the procuring of party lables, the huge expenses on elections and the election agencies run on money The comparatively affluent commercialists and industrialists can afford to indulge in this political campaign of election Thereby, although they may be elected on an adult suffrage, they actually belong to the rich classes, and cannot feel the sufferings of the masses

(iii) Civil Servant: Droit Administratif

The next danger proceeds from the administrator and the civil servant He has been a very convenient tool in the hands of the British and his traditions have made him easily adaptable,

shrewd and time serving opportunist The civil servant has compartments in his mind, and he enshrines different things in those compartments He has tremendous power in moulding policy, in running the administration and in the dispensation of loaves and fishes He is assiduous and painstaking and cherishes to work in a rut There are grooves chiselled in his mind as a result of his working in a rut He has the energy of a bull who is to be yoked to break the soil and to pull the weight Left to himself he is a danger unto himself Power in his hand can be a source of both making and unmaking He is therefore dangerous and has to be controlled The civil servant is a zealous guardian of his rights and has the capacity to enlarge and inflate them In a totalitarian State, a civil servant can be made or unmade at the wish of his immediate boss But in a democratic constitution, under which his rights are guaranteed or are protected by elaborate procedural safeguards, the need for wary supervision is all the greater In a democracy the only brake on the exuberance of a civil servant is the vigilance of a parliamentary system of Government through Ministers The civil servant has ordinarily no direct contact with the masses, and is thus liable to lose initiative through working in a rut or through sheer inertia The Minister, working through the legislature, is the link between the masses and the civil servants If the control of the Minister gets slack, the civil servant has the knack to raise his head and grab more power The Parliament, as the guardian of the civil liberty of the people, owes a duty to the people to see that their civil liberties are maintained Unfortunately the legislatures have little or no time for details which are often left to the civil servants and the bureaucracy to be worked out It is this sphere in which the danger lies It is usual for Parliament to leave matters of detail to be worked out in the form of rules, directions and notifications to be issued in implementation of the decisions taken by Parliament in the various enactments But in doing so, Parliament in a way delegates its authority to a class of persons who may have no direct touch with popular feelings or with the pulse of the masses This so called delegated legislation has in itself become a huge unmanageable Code, which is either pigeon-holed, hidden way in secret or semi secret circulars or is all Greek to the layman This rule-making authority or delegated legislation, often known as Droit Administratif, is peculiar to all parliamentary democracies and is a necessary evil This power of legislation is an indirect exercise of the will of the people, although it is divorced from a direct touch with the mass appeal The Droit Administratif, or the administrative law, as it is called, is often a danger to be guarded against in a democracy, because it has parallel usurpation of power in all modern democracies

But, whatever it may be, a vigilant democracy can look after itself and avoid the pitfalls that it may encounter A living vital nation will always surmount difficulties As a young nation we have to go forward with the objective of the Avadi Resolution in our domestic relations and in a spirit of Panchshila in our foreign policy

IN the march of the country towards progress and prosperity in the years after independence, multipurpose river valley projects, have played a major part Through these projects, the country's resources in food and industrial wealth have been substantially increased The power potential that was lying dormant in the water and land resources of the country has been brought to a new fruition

India is a land of contrasts in many ways and this is typically exemplified in the plenty and famine that visit the land due to the vagaries of rainfall Floods cause havoc to property and life when uncontrolled rivers unleash themselves on to fertile crop land and leave a scene of devastation Crops wither due to lack of rain and the cultivator gets no reward for all his toil of many months It is only the river valley projects that have brought security into the life of the cultivators by stabilizing the availability of water At the same time, the wheels of industry are turned by additional energy generated in hydro-electric power houses

In particular, the benefits have gone more to rural India—the villages which are the real emblem of the country's life, throb with new activity when they have water brought to their homes and fields and when the darkness of those villages is dispelled by electric power carried right into their heart on those gleaming transmission lines

India has been known as a poor country for the last 300 years, because of lack of technological progress in contrast to Western countries, where man has harnessed the elements with his advanced scientific know-how The increasing population of India, in contrast, has got doubly impoverished Vast numbers have been added to the population and no corresponding addition has been made in the country's productive wealth The economy of the country has therefore remained dependent on other countries who had the advantage of political domination over India

The living standards have been persistently low Political and communal bickerings have resulted continuously due to lack of minimum

necessities of life for many sections of the people There can be no agreeable manner of dividing poverty and India has suffered from this dilemma

It has been recognised for a long time that the only way to abolish poverty and low standards of living in the country is through increased production This is clearly impossible till more land is usefully brought under the plough and till more industries are established in the country in order to absorb the great masses of unemployed and underemployed people Unlike the West, Power in this country has been derived from human or animal labour This has made it quite impossible for India to compete with any of the nations who are making use of modern machinery run by thermal or electric power

There is no doubt about the immense resources of natural wealth which exist in India in its land water and man power The successful exploitation of resources alone can end the poverty of the masses of India and raise their standards of living Multipurpose river valley projects have provided the answer to *this problem of poverty Wherever such projects have been initiated and completed the country has already* turned a *new* leaf

FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS POST-INDEPENDENCE

It is interesting to note that the total investment over river valley projects for the hundred years preceding independence was of the order of 100 crores As against this in the period of the First Five Year Plan we have spent in the neighbourhood of 100 crores per year This shows the relative tempo of work in the post independence period as compared with a century of foreign rule in India

The financial yardstick in the past was that every project must be capable of paying the interest charges after the tenth year of its operation Money was usually raised abroad for the project and foreign investors wanted to be quite sure that they did not run into a loss of any kind Hence they were anxious to take up only those projects in which quick and easy profits could be made It may be noted that although their outlook was cautious and conservative they succeeded in building a large number of projects which earned sufficient money not only to bear all the interest charges after the tenth year of construction but also to repay many times over the entire amount of investment on those projects

Whereas it is desirable that multipurpose projects should be capable of being self supporting it is to be noted that the yard stick of productivity in terms of direct revenue cannot be regarded as a true yard stick One has to take into account not only the direct returns from the project but also the indirect sources of income and revenue which go o enrich not only the State but also the people After all with greater purchasing power the people spend more in their day to day life and the State realises its taxes in forms other than direct water rates and power rates

The procedure of repayment of capital in the more progressive countries is very much more favourable to enable the undertaking of the projects No interest is charged at all and the project is considered feasible if it can pay back all its capital cost in 40 instalments

It is now a well established dictum that if a *multi purpose* river valley project is sound and has been properly constructed and operated there is no chance of its not being able to pay in the long run The *question of finance therefore resolves itself into finding the money required initially for the investment for* the building of a project

RECENT HISTORY OF IRRIGATION AND POWER PROJECTS

Ever since the middle of the 19th century the British rulers in India came to the conclusion that the arid lands in certain regions could be converted into smiling gardens if only the water for the crops was


INDIA
MAJOR IRRIGATION & POWER PROJECTS
KASHMIR
WEST PAKISTAN
TIBET
NEPAL
BHUTAN
RAJASTHAN
CUTCH
SAURASHTRA
MADHYA PRADESH
BURMA
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
HYDERABAD
MYSORE
CEYLON
-LEGEND-
IRRIGATION PROJECTS
POWER PROJECTS
IRRIGATION & POWER PROJECTS
AREA OF TUBE WELLS BEING CONSTRUCTED WITH T.C.A. ASSISTANCE 1952 53 PROGRAMME
FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN
JAN 1953

supplied in season in requisite quantity For this purpose, there could be no better solution than constructing a system of canals to carry water from the rivers flowing in the high regions to the lands upto which the command could be secured This sort of irrigation had been practised earlier in the days of the Moghul emperors and its success was a fore gone conclusion

In accordance with this policy, the British rulers assisted by British Engineers started with the development on the Ganges river by the construction of the Upper Ganges Canal in the middle of the 19th century This was followed by the construction in the Punjab of the Upper Bari Doab Canal through which the British rulers wanted to settle the unruly Sikh army after the Sikh War The sturdy people who had previously been engaged in internecine war fare and other lawless activities, bent their energies to the arduous labour of clearing the waste land, levelling and tilling it for good crops and then watering it with the help of the Irrigation system

OUR MAJOR MULTI-PURPOSE PROJECTS

Rivers have influenced the life of the people of India ever since history began They have sung their praises in religion and folk lore The Ganga has been regarded as the Holy Mother—the giver of plenty and the curer of all ills Towns have been founded on the banks of rivers and their tributaries since the hoary past The best traditions of the Hindu religion prescribe a morning bath in the nearest stream

Yet rivers have not been a source of unmixed good They have exhibited wrath and devastation in their angry and swollen moods They have wiped away towns and civilization They have quite often changed their courses, and for a long time man has stood helpless beside the mighty forces which brought about such changes It is a feature of recent history that man has attempted to harness the rivers to supply water in all seasons for his agricultural requirements In India the first canals date back to the second century on the Cauvery and to the 14th century on the Yamuna A further instance of canals on a larger scale relates to the Mogul Emperors who were fond of gardens and fountains in their palaces The capital cities of Delhi and Lahore still have remnants of these 16th to 18th century projects, which though small, were picturesque and added to royal pleasures

It was left to the British rulers to lay the foundations of modern irrigation in India As in the case of railways the British pioneered the construction of diversion weirs and canals in many parts of India The economic and political gains of canal projects were quick and dramatic And lands in which dry farming was either impossible or altogether uncertain responded magically to the supply of water from irrigation channels Unprecedented harvests were reaped by the early settlers on the newly colonized lands

In the North Western region, covered by the Ganga Jamuna and Ravi rivers, the western Jumna Upper Ganges and Upper Bari Doab canals were constructed within the period of consolidation of the British rule The response from the hitherto turbulent communities of Jats and Sikhs was a contrast to their previous hostilities They all bent their energies to the assiduous tilling of land and raising bumper harvests of wheat, cotton and sugarcane The Canal colonies of Lyallpur Sargodha and Montgomery became dotted with the richest fruit gardens The colonization of crown waste lands brought the Government huge initial sums from land sales In addition the process proved a powerful weapon in the hands of the British rulers to bestow patronage and win the allegiance of large sections of people, who became the camp followers of the British

The political significance of the public works programme was deep and real The contrast between the arid wastes and the smiling crop bearing lands was a compelling invitation to people to sing the

praises of the foreign rulers—who gained the title of "Mai-bap" (father and mother). The British rulers capitalized on this phase of development in many ways Apart from ensuring the supply of raw products like wheat and cotton for their own island country, they grew from power to power in the Western world enriching their homeland with the spoils of the newly won and skilfully consolidated Indian Empire which became the first jewel in the Crown of the British sovereigns

In North Western India, Irrigation Projects assumed the unprecedented role of controlling the entire economy of the region New records of income were obtained in the First World War when this area served as the granary of the British Empire for supplies of wheat and cotton In addition to obtaining colossal supplies of these products the British converted this area into a big recruiting ground for the Indian Army which began to be used in increasing numbers in the Imperial wars which the British waged to gain new colonies and to retain their sovereignty on the lands and peoples subjugated by their politicians in the 18th and 19th centuries in glorious exploits of expanding trade and conquest

While irrigation projects became popular with the British administrator and politician, they were generally averse and even opposed to the harnessing of water for power generation This was in consonance with the British idea of confining the growth and progress of India within the agricultural field If India was allowed to become industrially minded, it would soon compete with Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield and people would cease to import the vast quantities of consumer goods which were manufactured by Britain and poured into India The process of exploitation would in this way undergo severe curtailment, and India would cease to be the prize possession on which so many British politicians, tradesmen and service careerists were thriving

Going further into this underlying basis of British policy, one finds them fostering the projects benefitting the predominantly Muslim areas in the period 1921 to 1947 The Haveli and the Thal projects in the joint Punjab were given precedence over the Bhakra Dam Project, although there was a greater need for this latter project to ward off the famines in the Hissar and Rajasthan arid areas To suit the policy of the rulers and to drown the clamour of protests from the East Punjab people for repeated postponements, constitutional and political difficulties with the Raja of Bilaspur and the deliberately created Sindh Punjab dispute over Indus water distribution were used as effective hurdles to put off the starting of the Bhakra Project from year to year for over two decades

EFFECT OF PARTITION

In 1947 when the country was partitioned on the eve of Independence, the food problem for the Indian Union assumed a very much worsened form In undivided India 400,000 cs of water were carried by the canals Out of this half is carried by the canals which are now in Pakistan Out of the 24 million acres of land which were irrigated by state controlled canals in undivided India more than half now lie in Pakistan For 18 per cent of the population, which is now in Pakistan, they have 23 per cent of the total area, 32 per cent of the rice, 35 percent of the wheat and 25 percent of all the foodgrains of undivided India There is a shortage of 1 million tons of foodgrains annually which was previously obtained by India from the areas which are now in Pakistan

The above situation made it all the more urgent that India should go ahead with some of the projects which were shelved in the British period due to political expediency Foremost among such projects was the Bhakra Dam Project of which a detailed description is given subsequently

The physiographic features divide India into distinct parts Out of this the Indo Gangetic plain constitutes one of the most fertile tracts in the country Although cultivation has been practised in this region

from times immemorial, there is little sign of exhaustion The rivers are snow fed and as such they have a minimum supply even in the winter months In the rainy season they rise to flood discharges which are 50 to 100 times their minimum discharges A huge amount of detritus load is also carried by these rivers which replenishes the fertile top soil

The rainfall in India is notorious for its unequal distribution during the year Also, it has a big variation from year to year in respect of duration, incidence and quantity India has an average rainfall of 50" although the desert areas in the North West have only 5" annual rainfall The average in Assam is about 100" although the highest figure in one location is 400" In many places it is quite common to have rainfall in a year to be less than 1/2 the normal Famines have been experienced when only 1/4 of the normal rainfall has occurred in a critical period during the crop rotation

The above characteristics bring out the great need for artificial irrigation for stabilising agricultural operations which are otherwise at the mercy of nature The need for conservation of supplies during flood months for utilisation later in the area is paramount Hardly is there any other country in the world where an even distribution of the available water resources would lead to as much additional benefit as it will produce in India

An appraisal of the water resources of the country obtained by correlating the river flow in each basin with its rainfall and temperature, indicates that the total annual inflow for the Indian Union is nearly 1350 million acre feet The utilisation of this resource for purposes of irrigation is less than 6 per cent amounting to 75 million acre feet The rest of the water flows waste to the sea

THE NEED FOR STORAGE PROJECTS

In order to conserve to the maximum utilisable extent the surplus waters that continuously flow down to the sea, it is necessary to construct huge storage projects on several of the river systems in India It has been estimated that about 1/3 of the total of 1350 million acre feet of water (say 450 million acre feet) can be put to beneficial use As the existing utilisation is 76 million acre feet it will appear that we can increase the utilisation six fold There is, however, an important limitation of the extent to which monsoon flows can be stored The economic feasibility of storage projects is an important consideration because of the very high cost of such projects The saving feature is that besides irrigation, large blocks of hydro electric power can be produced from the storage created and a good deal of protection can also be secured against flood damage

There are, however, obvious limitations which stand in the way of utilisation of the total flow in the rivers First, it is possible to divert or store only a small portion of the flow as compared with the maximum flow Secondly, as the supply varies from year to year the work can obviously be constructed only for such fraction as is available on a firm basis during most of the years Again, it becomes necessary that certain quantities of water are allowed to flow in the rivers for purposes of hydro electric development, navigation and water supply to towns and villages Even so, the potential of supplies that can still be utilized is enough to provide a progressive programme of development that may well last over 30 to 40 years

POWER RESOURCES AND EXISTING DEVELOPMENT

Whereas the exhaustable sources of power based on coal, mineral oil and natural gas are rather small for the size of the Indian Union the resources of hydro electric power are enormous So far no authentic survey of these resources has been made In 1921 a minimum continuous water power potential of 3 5 million k w only was considered feasible This has turned out to be a gross under estimate There

is no doubt that the total hydro power potential of India exceeds 40 million k w Total workable resources of coal are estimated at 20,000 million tons of which only 4500 million tons are good quality coal As to oil, Assam produces only 5 per cent of the total requirements of the country

The development of electric power presents a much poorer picture as compared to the development of Irrigation The first hydro station in India was erected in Mysore at Shivasamudram in 1902 Soon after, the Tata Hydro electric station followed in Bombay area Upto 1920 the progress was rather slow but subsequently the power generation industry saw rapid and continuous expansion In the period 1939 to 1950 the total power generating capacity has nearly doubled , the annual figures show a rise from about 1 million k w to 1 71 million k w The increase in the total quantity of electricity has been from about 2500 million k w h to 5100 million k w h At the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan only 32% of the electric generating capacity was in hydro electric stations, the rest being in coal and oil burning stations

The picture of power generation presents a great contrast to every modern country on account of the backwardness of India Most of the power so far produced has been in major cities, Bombay and Calcutta alone consuming about 40 per cent of the total electricity generated in India The average per capita consumption of electricity is only 14 k w h per year as compared with 1100 k w h in the United Kingdom 2207 k w h in United States of America and 3905 k w h in Canada Again there is a great unbalance between rural and urban areas in the development of power Six large towns with 3 per cent of the country's population get the benefit of 56% of the total public utility installations

THE NEED FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

With the available land and water resources India can build up great strength only if agriculture is put on a more stable basis The vagaries of rainfall jeopardise the living of 70 to 80 percent of India s people due to uncertain conditions which keep them guessing upto the last whether they will get due reward for their hard labour

It has been estimated that in areas of low and uncertain rainfall the yield per acre can be increased 2 to 3 times if the lands were irrigated Again large areas of cultivable lands which are at present barren and lying waste can be cultivated and used profitably if irrigation facilities were provided Due to the variation in climatic conditions, topography and quality of soil, the nature and quantity of irrigation required differ considerably There are large tracts in the States of Rajasthan, Punjab and Western U P where irrigation is a necessity for cultivation all the year round The entire agricultural pattern of large tracts of country can be changed if irrigation facilities are provided Increased production from land and increased employment for the cultivator can be secured affecting the lives of millions of people

RACE BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF POPULATION

The population of India has increased by 120 millions in the first 50 years of this century, rising from 235 5 millions in 1901 to 356 9 millions in 1951 The increase in agricultural development has, however, been comparatively small From the year 1906 to the year 1935, there was very little increase Against the population increase of about 1% per year, the increase in cultivated area was about 1/5% The increase in area irrigated whether by government works or private enterprise was, however, substantial, the rise being nearly 2% per year—from 29 6 (average) million acres in 1900 to 58 1 (average) million acres in 1945 The increase in irrigated area, no doubt, gave more assured crops and increased out turn per acre, but the rate of population growth was far in excess of the rate of increase of production This brings out the unavoidable necessity of catching up with the increasing food requirements of the country if famine and want and malnutrition are to be banished.

FOOD POSITION AND POLICY

The abnormal conditions created during the Second World War produced unprecedented stress and strain over many regions of the country with disastrous effects The food crisis in Bengal brought to the fore front, the need for building up reserves which would insure the country against failure of crops or abnormal price fluctuations which dislocate the economy of the country Heavy imports of foodgrains had to be resorted to between the years 1946 to 1952—the average net absorption amounting to as much as 3 million tons annually Between 1948 and 1952, the country had to spend over Rs 750 crores in the cost of imported grains This imposed a heavy strain on government finances and the much needed expenditure on development Although a number of stringent measures were taken for the control of distribution and sale of food, no satisfactory solution could be found without building adequate reserves of food through increased production in the country supplemented by expensive importation of food grains This factor was principally responsible for diverting attention to the overall importance of irrigation as the only safe remedy for making the country self sufficient in food Considering the inevitable rate of rise in population and the necessity of maintaining standards comfortably above mere subsistence levels, the guaranteed availability of 7 to 8 million tons of surplus food grains becomes the first obligation of the Government to the people of India

As a result of the above considerations, it has been concluded by the Planning Commission that there should be a two fold endeavour to solve the vital problem of food First, the water resources of the country should be utilized to the fullest extent and second, the standard of agricultural practice should be concurrently raised by the application of scientific research to agriculture Also public investment must give to the primary producer, the water, the power, the seeds and the manures that he needs—all these at the rates which he can economically afford with a reasonable incentive for achievement

NEED FOR POWER

One has only to move a few miles out of a big city into the countryside to feel the contrast which electric power creates between electrified towns and unelectrified villages The concentration of amenities and means of entertainment and diversion is centered round cheap electric power Not only industrial undertakings but all institutions concerned with the unfolding of a man s personality have become great through the use of electric power in a diversity of application Cheap power for pumping water for irrigation and for agriculture and cottage and small scale industries can transform the life in rural areas to such an extent that the influx of population into cities can be arrested In India, there is still time for electric power to reach and expand into the countryside before the village workers decide to quit their houses and farms and transfer themselves to slum conditions in towns much further

GROWTH OF ELECTRIC LOAD

Since 1940 the demand for power has far exceeded generation whether from thermal or hydro electric sources The normal growth of load augmented by the impetus of the Second World War crisis made it necessary that all available spare capacity of the country s power stations be harnessed In the same period it was not possible to obtain additional plant or replacement New connections were severely restricted and *staggering of load was arranged through dispersal of holidays and working hours In this* way the minimum demands of industry were met but the picture was one of extreme shortage of supply as compared with the demand As such the industrial development of the country and the consequent economic development were greatly hindered The total installed capacity was estimated by the Planning Commission at 1 million k w of public utility steam plant It can be stated that out of this 100 000 k w capacity plant is already out of date

The load created by tube well pumping for lift irrigation schemes in which Uttar Pradesh played a pioneer s role has created a potential market of a big magnitude The Ganga Canal grid generating 61 million k w h was utilized to over ½ of its total capacity for operating 2,200 tubewells owned by the State Irrigation Department The open pumping in Madras and Mysore States from wells and tanks consumes over 11% of the energy sold by public utility in that region

Due to the shortage of plant capacity some 20,000 applications were on the waiting list in 1952 in Madras and Mysore States In the Indian Union irrigation and agricultural dewatering consumed 64 million k w h in 1939 In the succeeding 10 years this figure was more than doubled and the recorded consumption in the year 1949 touched the peak of 150 million k w h

So far as the Punjab is concerned the Uhl River scheme which generated a maximum of 28,000 k w in the peak reached during the Second World War has been the only source of power supply in Northern India before and after partition Supplies of electric power to West Punjab were continued even after the partition in order to accommodate the demand from Pakistan who had practically no Hydro-electric power at the time of partition As a result the State of Punjab in the India Union remained very short of power It was in the post partition period that full attention was concentrated on the Bhakra Nangal Project and the Ganguwal Powerhouse was commissioned in January, 1955 to supplement the power generation

The quantum of power needed in the context of present requirements beats all records In fact it is fallacious to use the yard stick of the distant or even near past in assessing the demand that will come into existence in the very near future The climate of India is definitely changing from its agricultural characteristic to an industrial trend In view of this an ever increasing demand from now on can well be regarded as a certainty

MULTIPURPOSE PROJECTS—HIGHLIGHTS OF NATIONAL POLICY

The integrated development of the country's water resources for irrigation and power make it necessary that there should be a national policy in regard to the measures to be taken for early achievement of the food and power targets

The findings of the Irrigation Commission of 1901-1903 are noteworthy They laid emphasis only on those projects which were productive No regard was to be paid to the urgency of protection for the particular locality as the Railway freights were cheap and the produce of one region could be economically carried to the region where want was felt Outriding preference was therefore given by them to promising projects for which funds were required to be made available on the highest priority unless such funds were either already allocated to work in progress or were needed for strategic works This principle gave full recognition to the all India nature of the solution The second argument in favour of a National Policy embracing all problems of planning, design and construction not on a statewise basis, but by pooling the resources of the entire country in personnel, material and machinery, is even more incontrovertible The projects of the future are expected to be more complicated than those executed in the past New techniques have to be brought into use for further harnessing the resources of nature For such difficult ventures the effort that can be put forward by any one State may be inadequate for achieving the best solutions

The third reason for not confining multipurpose projects to State boundaries is based on the fact that river valleys were not made by nature to conform to the artificial boundaries fixed for historical or administrative reasons Quite frequently the water that has to be stored by the construction of high dams in one State is used in that State and the neighbouring areas It becomes absolutely essential to have joint

investigation in management which can best be organized under the direction of a central authority The last reason for heavy projects planned and executed on national basis derives its force from financial considerations The outlays needed for multipurpose development exceed by far the financial resources of any individual state As the funds have to be made available on a definite basis under guarantees for the various periods, the programme can only be operated by a central authority that can secure the necessary co ordination and integration Priorities for machinery, materials and foreign exchange also are outriding considerations which would be beyond the powers of any single state

CO-ORDINATED PLANNING

The use of water for irrigation, power generation, flood control navigation, fisheries and recreation thus becomes a complicated problem in which there has to be inter dependence and co-ordination for the allocations directed for each aspect of the project The target of the country in irrigation is the doubling of irrigated area in 15 to 20 years This means that new irrigation facilities are needed for 40 to 45 million acres Similarly the additional power generating capacity of about 7 million k w is needed The combined programme for irrigation and power generation is expected to cost about Rs 2 000 crores inclusive of the work already carried out in the First Five Year Plan To raise the standard of living in the country, foodgrains and cheap power are essential requisities They have accordingly to be given a prior most place in the projects of development for the country The foundations of both the First Five Year Plan and the Second Five Year Plan rest on the base work to be furnished by the multipurpose river valley projects which are selected with utmost scrutiny and farsightedness and then implemented with diligence, integrity and efficiency The investigation and preparation of plan, the construction and the subsequent operation require from 10 to 20 years of continuous work in the case of each major project The people of India have therefore to remain prepared for steadfast work and sustained determination to ensure the economical fruition of each of the major projects which are described further in this article

PROVISION IN THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN

The projects already under construction at the time of the formulation of the First Five Year Plan have taken a substantial amount out of the total provision for multi purpose projects in the First Five Year Plan In 1951 projects to the target value of Rs 765 crores were in hand for irrigation and power The expenditure incurred upto 31st March 1951 amounted to Rs 153 crores The projects included in the above cost are those which were sanctioned in the country by various State Governments after the Second World War The highest priority was given by the Planning Commission to the Projects on which considerable sums of money had already been spent since 1947 As however the need of the country was primarily for additional foodgrains some of the projects were modified in order to get the food benefits in full measure and in the earliest stage The changes and modifications made resulted in the total cost of the projects being reduced to 518 crores Of this amount 266 crores were required to be spent in the first two years of the First Five Year Plan With these large commitments already before the country the First Five Year Plan could not include many of the new projects which were put forward by the various States

So far as power generation was concerned emphasis was withdrawn from it in the First Five Year Plan under the apprehension that development of load for every large generating unit may not be forthcoming thus locking up a huge amount in too early investment As has been experienced later the fear that development of load will not be quick has been belied by actual experience The tide has already turned and multipurpose projects of the Second Five Year Plan are required to lay greater emphasis on power generation than was conceded at the time of formulation of the First Five Year Plan

On account of the very nature of the problem detailed technical investigations and careful assessment of the economic aspects of various projects cannot generally be completed in advance of the starting of work on the projects This is to a large extent inevitable, because some of the data emerges only with the progress of work on the project, e g , the foundations of high dams In such cases approximate provision only can be made and further data must be collected for periodical review during the course of subsequent progress on the projects This procedure has been found necessary for all the major multipurpose projects, started in the country since independence As explained later on, the excess over the original estimates is not to be attributed so much to any lack of efficiency or other defects The expansion in the scope of each project and the detailed information that comes to hand with the progress of the work are the real controlling factors There is a vague idea in the minds of the people that the estimates exceed because the authorities incharge are lax or the original estimates were faulty Actually, the true position generally revealed after enquiries has indicated in almost all the cases that the extra costs incurred were, generally speaking inevitable The option in such cases is that no authorisation be given and no works started till investigations are reasonably complete This option could not be exercised in the past because of the very short time limits within which the completion of the projects was desired If the country were to plan on a continuous basis, investigations and other exploratory data would be obtained in advance It is a lesson to be learnt from the present multipurpose projects that no time should be lost in putting necessary personnel and funds in position for securing the data and carrying out the initial exploratory work which alone can define the details of works to be included in the project If this course is followed the initial estimates would be much more exact and a lot of needless misunderstanding and controversy would be avoided

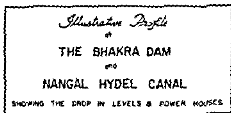
With the conclusion of the Bhakra Dam project, Damodar Valley Project and the Hirakud Project the programme of construction of multipurpose projects will have crossed its peak Since the analysis given earlier in this article indicates that India is in need of River Valley projects for the full utilisation of water resources for the next 30 or 40 years, it will be a wise policy on the part of the Central and State Governments to lose no time in the initiation of further projects which are on the waiting list

BHAKRA NANGAL PROJECT

With the pouring of the first bucket of concrete at Bhakra Dam on the 17th of November, 1955 by the Prime Minister, another nail has been struck in the coffin of poverty, flood havoc and famine Now onwards the higher the dam rises, the farther are these enemies of men driven away For the arid lands of Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan, the monsoon gamble will no longer inflict the drought or the floods Sutlej is enslaved and would henceforth work according to commands The vast blocks of hydro electric power generated will help eradicate unemployment and give an unlimited tempo to the fresh fields of industry The Bhakra Nangal Project represents a remarkable feat of the perseverence and skill of man and in the words of the Prime Minister "a gift to the generations to come"

The construction of the main Bhakra Dam and appurtenant works involves the placement of over 5 million cubic yards of concrete This will be done by transporting loaded concrete buckets in concrete cars, and their final placement with the help of cantilever and revolver cranes moving on trestles

The construction of such a gigantic structure as Bhakra Dam poses unprecedented problems of planning, organization, coordination and supply A little delay in the supply of any one item required during construction may result in an expensive set back to the entire schedule The planning and detailed designs are of paramount importance in the interest of both efficiency and economy The executive organization is also planned with the minutest scrutiny Jobs such as the establishment of work-



Illustrative Profile showing the Bhakra Nangal Project Only two powerhouses are shown on the Nangal Hydel Canal Potentialities exist however for a third powerhouse



The Nangal Dam—It consists of 6 bays 30 ft each The bays are fitted with mechanically operated gates

shops and repair and service facilities at various locations, the purchase and installation of plant and material required during construction, regular and adequate flow of essential construction material and efficient handling of manpower and technical skill, have received the most careful planning

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BHAKRA NANGAL PROJECT

The necessity for providing irrigation facilities to the dry and arid areas of Rohtak and Hissar districts and the adjoining area of the erstwhile Bikaner State, now part of Rajasthan, has been keenly felt for the last two centuries on account of repeated and devastating famines The tract has an average annual rainfall of only about 12 inches and depth of water below surface of 100 to 200 feet, which precludes cultivation on well irrigation Even this scanty rainfall, fails year after year and the tract is subject to continuous severe famine conditions The reports of successive Famine Commission make a sad and pathetic reading It is stated that the famine of 1783 was so severe that the entire population was either destroyed or uprooted, and the whole cattle wealth perished

The proposal to construct a storage reservoir on the Sutlej, orginated in 1908 Investigations were taken up by the Punjab Irrigation Department and different proposals were framed in successive projects between the years 1915 and 1939-42 when a comprehensive project estimate was prepared Detailed investigations were undertaken and consultations were held with eminent geologists and engineering consultants In 1945 Indian engineers were sent to U S A for a study of the design and construction problems of the Bhakra Dam and to have designs and specifications prepared by the International Engineering Co Denver In 1946 preliminary operations were started comprising construction of the Rupar—Nangal Railway, Rupar Nangal Road, and Road and Railway from Nangal to Bhakra Dam site, and building the Nangal Township for housing the construction staff

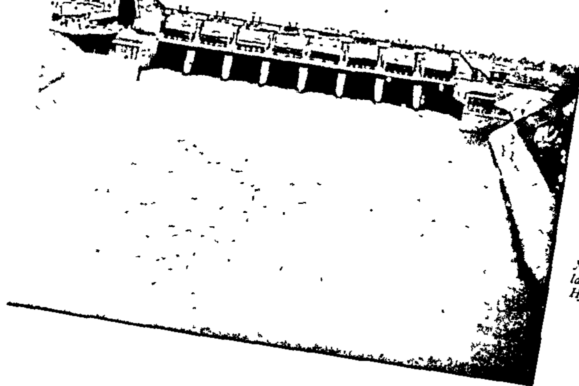
In 1948 the design of the dam was revised and the height of the dam was raised by 100 feet to elevation 1680 This fixed the gross capacity of the reservoir at 7 4 million acre feet, out of which net utilizable storage of 5 6 million acre feet would be available The following areas are planned to be benefited from the scheme

Gross Area in lac acres	Restricted perennial	Non perennial	Perennial	Total
Punjab	12 2	5.5	25.6	43 3
PEPSU	6 1	1 2	6 1	13 5
Rajasthan			10 8	10 8
Grand Total	18 3	6 7	42 5	67 6

It may be mentioned that the mean storage available in the reservoir will be 4 6 million acre feet against 6 2 million acre feet required, thus resulting in a shortage of 25 % However, the area included in the project for irrigation purposes has been kept high to spread the benefit as widely as possible The shortages can be met from additional resources to be derived from adjoining rivers or Tubewells which can be installed for augmenting the perennial supplies, by pumping from the sub soil reservoir when cheaper electric power is available

BHAKRA DAM AND POWER PLANT

The dam will be of the straight gravity type with the normal full reservoir level at 1680 The top of the dam with 30' roadway will be at elevation 1700 The upstream face of the dam will be vertical upto elevation 1350 with an upstream batter of 0 35 to 1 below that The downstream face will be



Nangal Dam—Head regulator. The Nangal Hydel Canal takes off here



Donala aqueduct on the Nangal Hydel Canal

provided with a batter of 0 8 to 1 0 The dam will have a series of internal galleries with a total approximate length of 16,000 feet for purposes of inspection, drainage, grouting and operation of regulation equipment

The overflow spillway 260 feet wide fitted with a radial gates 50′ × 37 5′ will be provided in the central section of the dam The spillway with the help of irrigation outlets will be able to negotiate a flood of 2,90 000 cusecs corresponding to a total flood of 400,000 cusecs Two tiers of irrigation outlets with 8 to 10 outlets in each tier will be provided at elevations 1320 and 1420 The river outlets will be capable of passing a discharge of 106,000 cusecs Two tunnels 50 in diameter and about half a mile long each are being used for diverting the river

Two rolled fill cofferdams for enclosing the operation area in the bed of the river have also been constructed The upstream cofferdam is 215 ft high and the other downstream is 132 ft The foundations of the dam in the river bed have been excavated and the concreting of main dam started Lot of subsidiary excavation has also been done such as for plant terraces etc

Two power plants, one on the left and the other on the right side, downstream of the dam with a provision of 5 and 4 units respectively and each power unit capable of generating 90,000 K W as firm power are proposed Total firm power will be 3,65 000 K W

NANGAL DAM

The Nangal Dam is situated 8 miles downstream of Bhakra and will serve to divert the river supplies into the Nangal Hydel Channel It is a 90 feet high concrete dam, consisting of 26 spans of 30 feet each with 7 feet wide piers and two tiers of gates 18 × 11 high in each bay, and a concrete breast wall on top It has been designed as a modern hydraulic structure on permeable foundations to stand a head of 53 feet It has an arterial road bridge combined with it It can pass a maximum flood of 350,000 cusecs Besides diverting the water into the Nangal Canal it will form a small balancing reservoir to smoothen the diurnal fluctuations in outflow from Bhakra Power Houses and to cater for variable discharges required for the Nangal Power Houses

Combined with the Nangal Dam is the Nangal Canal Regulator consisting of 8 spans of 24 feet each, with 6 0 piers and requisite gates and gearing A shingle excluder consisting of a slab on top of double storeyed tunnels has been provided, which leads the shingle laden water downstream of the dam and the clearer water into the canal The first two bays of the dam are covered by the shingle excluder, which have 3 gates each

NANGAL HYDEL CHANNEL.

The channel takes off from the left bank of river Sutlej above the Nangal Dam It is a lined canal 39 6 miles long, designed for a full supply discharge of 12,500 cusecs The normal slope is 1 in 10,000 but where it runs through deep cutting, steeper slopes have been provided with a view to reduce excavation and save cost The normal bed width and depth are 80 feet and 20 6 feet respectively

The canal passes through very difficult sub mountainous country, specially in the reach from head upto the second Power House, a distance of 18 miles It involves deep cuttings in conglomerate, shingle and sand and hillocks and heavy filling in the ravines Fifty eight hill torrents, of an aggregate maximum estimate fun-off of 248,000 cusecs cross the canal

The canal presents many special features and has entailed considerable labour in working out safe and economical designs



Forebay of the Gangwal Powerhouse while under construction



A 24 000 kW generating set in Gangwal Power house on the Nangal Hydel Canal 3 such units have been installed in the Powerhouse

NANGAL POWER HOUSES

Out of the two Power Houses on the Nangal hydel canal, the Ganguwal Power House has been working at a capacity for generating 48,000 K W of power since the beginning of this year The other Power House, namely Kotla Power House, will start functioning by middle of 1956 and will generate an equal amount of power

RUPAR HEADWORKS

Rupar Headworks has been remodelled to cater for the increased requirement of Sirhind Canal and to feed the new Bist Doab Canal The full supply discharge of the Sirhind Canal has been raised from 9040 cusecs to about 12 500 cusecs With this extension of irrigation new tracts have been served It has also improved the water allowance in existing areas

BHAKRA CANALS

The Bhakra Main Line takes off from the tail of the Nangal Canal at Rupar and is designed for a full supply discharge of 12 457 cusecs From Rupar, passing through the enclaves of the State of Pepsu, it proceeds almost straight to Tohana situated on the border of Hissar district

The Main Line absorbs the existing Ghaggar and Choa Branches, and the Patiala Navigation Channel of the Patiala Branch of the Sirhind Canal This is a convenient arrangement as it releases corresponding capacity of the Sirhind Canal to accommodate the additional supply

In addition to direct distributaries of an aggregate capacity of 1226 cusecs, the following branches take off from the Bhakra Main Line, Bhakra Main Branch and from the Narwana Branch

S No	Name of Branch	Authorized full supply discharge in cusecs
1	Narwana Branch	4,459
2	Ghaggar Branch	1,433
3	Choa Branch	314
4	Bhakra Main Branch	5,069
5	Fatehbad Branch	1,707
6	Ratia Branch	671
7	Rori Branch with Ottu Feeder	1,030
8	Karnising Branch	448
9	Sadul Branch	1,244
10	Barwala Sub branch	824

The Sidhwan Branch (1727 cusecs) forms part of the Sirhind Canal system and Bist Doab Canal (1801 cusecs) takes off direct from the river

The Bhakra Main Line, Main Branch, Narwana, Karnising and Sadul Branches are all lined channels the rest are unlined

The Narwana Branch irrigates the Samrala Rajpura tract (No 6) Patiala tract (No 7) Kaithal Pehowa tract (No 8) Pepsu area between Ghaggar and Dhamtan distributary (tract No 9), Barwala extensions (tract No 10 and 11) and the existing area of the Sirsa Branch from Habri head to the head of Gorakhpur distributary The Sirsa Branch from head to R D 88,000 has been renamed as Narwana link

The Fatehbad and the Bhakra Main Branches take off from Sirhind Canal above Manpur Regulator and irrigate the area of Ludhiana district lying between the outer irrigation boundary of Sirhind Canal and the high Bank of river Sutlej and the Grey Canal areas

Switch-yard of the Ganguwal Powerhouse on the Nangal Hydel Canal

River Sutlej flowing through the Bhakra Gorge before it was tamed and made to flow through the two 50 ft dia diversion tunnels

BIST DOAB CANAL

This canal takes off from the right side of Rupar Head works and it irrigates a gross area of 6 34 lac acres in Hoshiarpur and Jullundur districts of Punjab and Kapurthala district of Pepsu The main canal is 20 miles long with a head discharge of 1801 cusecs and is lined for about 8000 feet only It has two branches, viz Jullundur Branch 45 miles, (of which half is lined), and Nawanshahr Branch 14 miles long

The total length of the Main and Branch canals is 690 miles and of distributaries 2200 miles

TRANSMISSION LINES

The transmission system has been designed with the dual consideration that while initial costs should be kept as low as possible, the system should be flexible so as to enable increase of capacity later on as the load develops

A double circuit transmission line is provided from Bhakra to Delhi via Nangal Power House No I, Ambala and Panipat, which will be initially insulated for operation at 132 K V The towers and conductors are designed for 220 K V so that when the load goes beyond the capacity of 132 K V line it can be converted for 220 K V operation by adding extra insulation Step down sub-stations will be located at Ambala, Panipat and Delhi The portion between Nangal Power House No I and Bhakra is being utilized initially for supplying construction power to Bhakra Dam by erecting a temporary 132 11 K V Substation at Bhakra

Another double circuit 132 K V transmission line will run from Nangal Power House II to Ludhiana where it will bifurcate into two single circuit lines, one running to Jullundur to link up with the existing Uhl River system, and the other to Sri Ganga Nagar via Moga and Muktsar Step-down sub stations will be located at Ludhiana, Jullundur, Moga, Muktsar and Sri Ganga Nagar A double circuit 132 K V line is also provided between Nangal I and Nangal II

A single circuit 132 K V line is provided from Panipat to Rajgarh with a step-down sub station at Hansi enroute Another single circuit 132 K V line is proposed from Ambala to Saharanpur for supply of Power to U P

There are two 66 K V lines from Ambala, one single circuit to Nabha with the step down sub-station at Rajpura and Patiala for giving supply to Patiala (Pepsu) and the other double circuit to Chandigarh, which *proceeds as single circuit and terminates* at Simla with step down sub stations at Surajpur and Solan Another single circuit 66 K V line runs from Panipat to Abdullapur with step-down sub stations at Karnal and Indri

There are five 66 K V single circuit lines for supplying power to Rajasthan Two of these lines emanate from Sri Ganga Nagar sub station to feed Suratgarh and Karanpur and the other three from Rajgarh grid sub station to feed Ratangarh, Sikar and Bahadra respectively

SCHEDULE AND PROGRESS

When will Project be completed ? When will the potentialities of the scheme become realities ? When will the common man feel the impact of this great development ? These are important questions, and fortunately the answers are in sight Undoubtedly the full benefits will become available only when all the units of the Project are constructed But the benefits will not be withheld from the people for long The schedules have been so arranged as to bring some measure of these benefits as each stage of construction is completed

Right diversion tunnel—upstream portal water is seen entering into the tunnels

Bhakra Dam Construction plant layout panorama Six No cement silos are seen in the foreground

Irrigation supplies and power generation are the main objectives of the Project The food and fodder situation in the country warrants that irrigation be given priority The concentration of construction activities has therefore been on the development of the irrigation system There is much surplus water in the Sutlej River during the summer monsoons, and although it cannot be stored without the Bhakra Reservoir in operation it is possible to divert much of it for the summer or Kharif crops With this objective in view work was initiated on the main diversion structure—the Nangal Dam—and the network of canals which carry the water for the arid regions to be served by the Project

Bhakra Canals were put in operation in July 1954

Nangal Hydel Canal was completed in 1954

Nangal Dam completed in 1953

Ganguwal Power House on Nangal Hydel Canal was commissioned in January, 1955

Kotla Power House on Nangal Hydel Canal is expected to be commissioned during 1956

The schedule of operations at Bhakra Dam contemplates completion in 1960 But, some storage in the Bhakra Reservoir will commence before then This storage, which will progressively increase with the height of the dam, will be utilized for the development of perennial irrigation

The programme and the target dates are summarized in the following table

1	Completion of Diversion Tunnels	July, 1953
2	Temporary diversion of the river	December, 1953
3	Final Diversion of the river	October, 1954
4	Excavation of Dam foundations (completion)	October, 1955
5	Starting concreting of Dam	November, 1955
6	Completion of Dam	1960
7	Nangal Dam	Completed
8	Completion Nangal Hydel Canal	April, 1954
9	Completion Nangal Power Houses	
	Power House No I	July, 1954
	Power House No II	1956
10	Remodelling Sirhind Canal	April, 1954
11	Remodelling Rupar Headworks	April 1954
12	Bhakra Canals	1954
13	B st Doab Canal	1954
14	Transmission	1954 55

BHAKRA DAM—NEW CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES

A structure 680 feet high above the excavated bed rock with a further depth of upto 50 feet or more below the Dam foundation level Bhakra Dam will be actually a few feet higher than even Boulder Dam, which is so far the world s highest Dam Due to the relatively poorer nature of the strata, in which claystone layers intervene, Bhakra has foundations which are unique for such a structure This factor

Excavation at the Bhakra Dam site in progress Shovels and euclids toiled up and down round the clock to excavate 148 million cubic feet of rock

The 110 ft high concrete batching and mixing plant at Bhakra It houses four mixers each of 4 cubic yard capacity

rural electrification, railway trains powered by electricity, phenomenal development in industry, and the like, must indeed have inspired those who conceived this project

An extremely important aspect of the indirect returns of the Project is that of employment Ever since India achieved independence and the State was divided at the time of partition between India and Pakistan, the most pressing need has been that of rehabilitating the countless refugees who sought shelter in India Most of these virile cultivators and artisans are now either idle or underemployed To them the Bhakra Nangal Project holds forth the promise of homes left behind and security long forgotten

The Bhakra Canal system will serve an area that has a scant rainfall and is periodically subjected to the ravages of famine In the years 1938 to 1940 the State Government spent over rupees 30 million for relief to this famine stricken area to protect the entire population from extinction A similar situation today, with the prevailing high prices and food shortages, would indeed be a major catastrophe, before which the cost of the Bhakra Nangal Project would pale into insignificance

The story of the Bhakra Nangal Project is the story of a nation at work, of a nation answering the challenge with deeds rather than words, of a nation fighting the battle of wresting from nature its bounties and of employing them for the good of humanity at large The Bhakra Nangal Project is but a link in this great struggle, but it is an important link It is one of the first being forged out of the sweat and toil of the engineers and technicians, the farmers and workers It is one of the biggest links in this chain that will lift the Indian people from the abyss of despair and dependence, privation and want, and bring into their lives an era of sunshine and plenty Indeed the story of the Bhakra Nangal Project is the story of the shape of things to come

DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION

The Damodar Valley lies north-west of Calcutta Already the centre of India s heavy industry, it is still under developed, but potentially it is one of the richest industrial and agricultural belts in the world. An attempt is now being made, on a national scale, to raise the standard of living of the people by developing both industry and agriculture under a programme of unified development of the whole valley

Implementation of the Damodar Valley development scheme has been envisaged in two stages The first phase includes the construction of four dams at Tilaiya, Konar, Maithon and Panchet Hill, three hydro-electric stations at Tilaiya, Maithon and Panchet Hill, the steam power plant at Bokaro and the transmission system and the Durgapur barrage and the associated canals and distributaries The first phase, due for completion in 1955 is expected to cost Rs 89 10 crores, but the benefits will include irrigation of 1,025,762 acres of land and generation of about 300,000 K W of installed power, from which the Damodar Valley Corporation will earn annually Rs 38 26 crores The second phase comprises the construction of three more hydro electric dams at Aiyar, Bokaro and Balpahari, and the power weir at Bermo

The Damodar Valley scheme has a catchment area of approximately 8500 square miles in the States of Bihar and West Bengal The Upper Valley in Bihar is exceptionally rich in mineral wealth, and is at the same time well suited for the development of forests The Lower Valley, mostly lying in West Bengal, on the other hand, contains some of the best agricultural lands in the country Development of such a valley assumes all the more importance when other economic advantages of the region are taken into account, namely, close proximity of the area to the port of Calcutta, fairly good rail and road communications and the relatively high degree of industrialisation already achieved, particularly in the coal and iron and steel industries



The first bucket of concrete at Bhakra poured by the Prime Minister on 17th November, 1955

The Damodar Valley Corporation was established in July, 1948, following an Act passed by the Central Legislature Apart from such functions as irrigation, water supply, electrical energy and flood control, it has been invested with the obligation of promoting and operating schemes for navigation, afforestation soil conservation, use of lands, resettlement of displaced population, sanitation and public health, as well as industrial economic and general well being of the people in the Valley and its area of operation Thus it devolves on the Damodar Valley Corporation to develop the resources of the valley as a whole and to open up the rich countryside

The three participants in the Corporation are the Government of India and the State Governments of Bihar and Bengal But the Corporation is an autonomous body, ' having perpetual succession and a common seal It functions under a Chairman and two members, all of whom are appointed by the Government of India in consultation with the State Governments who are represented on the Advisory Committee The Government of India, however retains to itself overriding powers

Actual work had already begun on the unified development of the Damodar River before the formation of the Damodar Valley Corporation The havoc caused by the floods in 1943 had made the Government realise the urgency of such a scheme In 1945 a multipurpose plan was prepared by Mr W L Voorduin, Hydro Electric Member, Central Technical Power Board This plan was approved by the Government in 1946 Under the direction of the Board substantial progress was made, especially in regard to survey, planning and design between October, 1947 and June 1948 during which period an Administrator was incharge of the scheme

Economic development is one of the major objectives of river valley development projects In the initial concern with the design and construction of dams and power house, however, the industrialization phase of the development programme is too frequently put aside for later consideration There is likely to be expectation that industries will grow up spontaneously once electric power and water are available

It is true that power and water are among the major considerations for many industries Some will locate voluntarily in a region where these resources exist But varied types of industries are required to obtain a balanced industrial economy for a region, one which will most thoroughly capitalize on all of the local resources and most fully meet the requirements of the local inhabitants and of the nation There are always opportunities to improve the traditional industries, to introduce new ones, and to simulate a more rapid rate of development

A river valley development project being concerned with a well defined geographic unit with many common characteristics is a logical and effective medium for conducting an industrial development activity Being essentially an action agency responsible for constructive results a Regional Development Authority is likely to be more realistic and productive and less handicapped by bureaucratic procedures, than other governmental organizations The primary objective of any development project is the optimum utilization of all the available resources Providing new power and water resources is only an initial step towards the agricultural and industrial developments which are the actual wealth producing activities

TILAIYA DAM

Built on the river Barakar, about 130 miles above its confluence with the Damodar, Tilaiya was the first multipurpose dam of the Corporation Kodarma on the Grand Chord line of the Eastern Railway in the nearest railway station—some 10 miles from the dam site

The construction of this all concrete dam started in January, 1950 and was completed by December, 1952 Of the two 2 000 KW hydro electric generators installed, departmentally the first was

switched on by the Prime Minister on the 21st February 1953. The second set has been in operation from the 10th July, 1953 While the resultant stored water will be harnessed at Durgapur for permanent irrigation, the dam is contributing to the moderation of floods in the Lower Valley

The Dam was designed and constructed 'departmentally'. Manufactured in Japan, the hydro-electric power plant, consisting of two 2,800 BHP, 250 RPM. vertical-shaft Francis turbines directly coupled to 2,500 KVA, 11 KV alternators, is capable of a continuous output of 2,000 KV The hydro-electric station and the 11/33 KV step up outdoor substation were also designed and constructed departmentally Since the opening of its first unit, the plant has been supplying commercial power to Hazaribagh town, Kodarma town and mica mines, and the adjoining villages More and more mica fields and towns in the neighbourhood are also being connected up

The new reservoir having submerged a portion of the old Kodarma Singrawan road, seven miles of a new one, together with 550 ft. bridge, were constructed by the Damodar Valley Corporation in about six months time as a link to the Patna-Ranchi National Highway The people displaced by the reservoir were given the option of choosing between cash compensation and 'Land for Land' and 'House for House Four new villages have been built in the locality to house the affected population, and over 4,500 acres of badly eroded waste land have been reclaimed This was a three crore project

THE KONAR DAM

Konar, the second of the four multipurpose dams included in the first phase of the Damodar Valley Project, is situated in the Hazaribagh district across the river of the same name, 15 miles above its confluence with the Damodar.

Construction of the Rs. 13.79 crore Konar project was taken up in the middle of 1950, and is now nearing *completion Built across the Konar in a beautiful wooded valley, the dam will rise 160 feet above* the river bed. Its overall total length is 12,959 feet, which comprises the 910 foot long gravity type concrete dam and spillway, 4,000 foot and 5800 foot long respectively right and left earth embankments and a 2,249 foot long saddle dyke. The maximum width at base of the spillway section is 147 feet, and of the earth embankment 850 feet The total discharge capacity through sluices will be 6500 cusecs, and of the overflow spillway 240,000 cusecs The drainage area of the river basin is 385 square miles, with an average annual rainfall of 51 6 inches The reservoir will submerge an area of 6,600 acres, with a total storage capacity of 260,000 acre feet of water, and the backwaters will be 9 river miles long

The dam, which will provide permanent irrigation in the lower valley, generate hydel power and supply 400 cusecs of cooling water to the Corporation's thermal power station at Bokaro, is of the composite type with a central concrete gravity type spillway, fitted with gates, and earthen embankments on the flanks. An underground power station, 450 feet below the bed level with a seven mile long tail-race tunnel for the generation of hydel power from this reservoir is proposed to be taken up later

MAITHON DAM

Maithon Dam is the third project in the first phase of the Damodar Valley scheme, and is expected to cost Rs 13 90 crores The dam will be bigger than both the Tilaiya and Konar dams, and is being built on the Barakar River, just above its confluence with the Damodar The drainage area of the river basin is 2,430 square miles The total storage capacity of the reservoir will be 1,104,000 acre feet of water and it is going to submerge 26,500 acres of land with backwaters extending to 16 river miles The height of the dam above the river bed will be 162 feet, the length of the concrete spillway 622 feet, the main earth dam 2,005 feet and the earth dykes 11,940 feet. The maximum width at the base of the spillway section

will be 132 feet and of the main earth dam 940 feet The total discharge through sluices will be 70,000 cusecs, and the discharge capacity of overflow spillway will be 510,000 cusecs The dam is built departmentally

It is constructed 'departmentally' The placing of the main earth dam on the river bed began in October 1952, and the river Barakar was diverted into a tunnel cut into the left bank in December 1952 For the monsoon flow, a diversion channel was completed on the right bank in June, 1953, and the main earth dam had risen to about 90 feet above the river bed by April, 1954

The erection of the construction plant and its component parts, trestle bridge, etc , for crushing stone and mixing and pouring concrete, have all been completed Concreting of the spillway started in February, 1954, and is scheduled to be completed in 1955

The excavation for the intake structure for the underground power house started in April 1954 The excavation for the access tunnel and work on the main power house structure began in May 1954, the power house is expected to go into operation by the middle of 1956

Maithon is the largest of the Corporation's construction camps and has over 750 buildings of all kinds The available facilities are appropriate for a modern township and include a middle school, recreation club buildings with swimming pool, a hospital and a well equipped dispensary

Its central situation makes Maithon the construction headquarters of the Damodar Valley Corporation and provides a natural site for the Corporation's soil and Concrete Laboratories, Timber and Mechanical Workshops, Central Stores and other godowns The main distribution centre for Sindri power is alco located here

PANCHET HILL DAM

The Rs 14 88 crore Panchet Hill project is the largest of the Damodar Valley Corporation Projects included in the first phase of the scheme It may rightly be described as a counterpart of the Maithon dam, like Maithon on the Barakar, it is being built on the lower reaches of the Damodar River, and like Maithon, it is primarily meant for controlling floods With the completion of the Panchet Hill dam in 1955, the first phase of the Damodar Valley Corporation scheme comes to a close

The height of the dam above the river bed will be 133 feet, the concrete spillway will be 775 feet long, the main earth dam 1,800 feet long and the total overall length of earth dykes 21,315 feet The maximum width at base of the main earth dam will be 800 feet, and that of the spillway section 96 feet The total discharge through sluices will be 140,000 cusecs, and the discharge capacity of overflow spillway 638,000 cusecs The reservoir will submerge an area of 22,800 acres, with backwaters about 26 river miles long and a total storage capacity of 1,214,000 acre feet of water The drainage area of the river basin is 4,234 square miles

The four main dams at Tilaiya, Konar, Maithon and Panchet Hill will protect the Lower Valley from the highest flood hitherto recorded, while all the seven dams—including the three of the second phase at Aiyar, Bokaro and Balpahari—will be capable of holding floods of the magnitude of a million cusecs This will completely free the Lower Valley from the constant threat of devastation that the capricious Damodar causes so frequently

The two other main functions which these dams will perform, in addition to flood control, are the generation of hydro-electric power and the regulation and supply of water for irrigation during the months

when the normal flow in rivers is insufficient to maintain crops Apart from these two—both of which will be discussed in this book separately—the dams are going to serve as centres of recreation All the dams are situated in hilly terrain and the surrounding country can be easily developed into scenic spots which will invite a fairly big tourist traffic, and also afford excellent opportunities for relaxation to people in the pre eminently industrial Damodar Valley itself A beginning is being made shortly in this direction at the Tilaiya dam by providing facilities for swimming, yatching, fishing and duck shooting An added attraction for tourists will be the presence in the neighbourhood of mineral springs whose waters have been found to possess radioactive and medicinal properties

MINOR DAMS

In addition to the four major dams, the Damodar Valley Corporation is building a number of small reservoirs in the headwaters of the river system Six of such small reservoirs have so far been completed, four in the Tilaiya area and two near Hazaribagh town These are intended to retard the silting of the major dams through a programme of progressive soil conservation and land reclamation, which would at the same time provide land to those whose land has been submerged under water, they will also make avail able the excess run-off from upland fields for irrigating lower paddy fields, and, finally, they will meet the water requirements of nearby towns

PRODUCTION

In terms of main crops, the additional production of food grains will be rice 216,076 tons, Rabi 133,200 tons, and straw 17,874,600 maunds The total additional foodgrain production would be a little less than 350,000 tons, which at current prices would be worth Rs 30 48 crores The extra production of jute will yield another Rs 3 60 crores from an area of 100,000 acres This is envisaged under a double-cropping system while at present the Lower Valley is mostly single cropped Damodar Valley Corporation experts even see the possibility of introducing three crops a year after the pattern of Egyptian agriculture

BENEFITS

Multi-purpose Project

The Damodar Valley Project started as a flood protection scheme But later on it was advised that that this scheme should be made as a multi purpose by providing for irrigation and generation of power as well, so that the waters of the Upper Damodar Catchment might be utilised to better advantage and the schemes might be economically viable Though flood control was an urgent necessity, it is not directly productive of revenue and has to be regarded as an insurance measure It was felt that by combining irri gation and generation of power, there would be substantial revenue Also the Project will lead to rapid economic development of the entire Damodar Valley

Flood Control

The Damodar is a river of sorrow" It is no doubt a harmless looking small river, about 336 miles long and having its origin in the hills of Chota Nagpur in Western Bihar But the monsoon floods in the Domadar are invariably very destructive, leaving in their wake a dismal picture of an impoverished countryside, ruinned crops, uprooted people dead cattle and railways and roads seriously breached Not only is the region isolated from the rest of the country, people suffer from hunger and disease

Inspite of attempts at controlling the river embankments there have been disastrous floods from time to time A very fertile area has been under constant threat

The Damodar Valley Project is designed to give protection against the highest recorded flood The storage in Maithon and Panchet Dams will largely be utilised for moderating the floods But already

the Tilaiya and Konar Dams, which have been completed are having some beneficial influence The Maithon Dam, though still incomplete, will also retard the floods to some extent The full immunity will be attained by 1958 on completion of the Maithon and Panchet Hill Dams The benefits of flood control are no doubt largely protective, but will be substantial and will be reaped mostly by the peasantry

New Colonies

Near the sites of the dams new colonies have already sprung up to house, for the present, the staff engaged on construction These colonies, which contain about 1,500 permanent buildings, have been provided with all modern amenities of life, such as electricity, water, post offices, schools and hospitals The hospitals have so far treated over 350,000 people, including a considerable proportion of neighbouring villagers These colonies have very good prospects of developing into industrial townships when certain new industries are established near the sites of the dams, where they can enjoy the benefits of easy availability of power and water

Irrigation

The Project will give Kharif irrigation to 10 lakh acres in the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly in West Bengal Out of this area 3 lakh acres will also get rabi irrigation and grow more than one crop A portion of the commanded area, nearly 1 8 lakh acres, is at present served by a canal system fed from a weir across the Damodar The irrigation in this area is not so satisfactory as there is no storage which can guarantee supply in periods of shortage This area will now get assured supply Irrigation will commence from the Durgapur Barrage shortly There will be progressive increase in the irrigation acreage in 1956 and 1957 By 1958 the entire commanded area will be covered Some storage has also been reserved for irrigation in the Upper Damodar Valley which is situated in Bihar Owing to the undulating nature of the Upper Valley irrigation schemes direct from the reservoirs are somewhat expensive and some schemes which had been investigated in the past had to be turned down on account of the high cost But investigation is proceeding and one scheme for irrigating 17,000 acres seems attractive enough The corporation is anxious to devise schemes for irrigation in Bihar

Though the value of irrigation is more or less well accepted, a doubt has been expressed in some influential quarters that irrigation is not so necessary in West Bengal and the Corporation will not be able to sell the water at a remunerative rate This impression is based primarily on the refusal of the peasantry to take water from the Mayurakshi Canal system in the years 1952 and 1953 It has to be admitted that in the past irrigation schemes in West Bengal were largely considered protective The monsoon is generally favourable and ordinarily the cultivators are in a position to grow a kharif crop without the aid of irrigation But the recent studies clearly prove that irrigation can revolutionise agriculture Once supply of adequate water is assured, better agronomic practices can be introduced and production can be greatly stepped up by the use of fertilizers and improved seeds The average yield of paddy per acre in the lower Damodar basin is 10 maunds or more per acre With proper use of fertilizers and better seeds, the yield will be substantially higher But we should not confine our calculations to the cultivation of paddy alone To get full value out of the irrigation there must be a more diversified cropping pattern A large acreage should be turned over to sugar cane, potato, oil seeds, wheat and vegetables, enabling the peasantry to get much higher return and a more substantial diet It is not unlikely that growing of fodder will also be considered more remunerative in some areas

The Corporation is alive to the need of improving agricultural practices in the irrigated zone Development of agriculture is, of course, the responsibility of the State Government But the Corporation is anxious to play an active role in this sphere so that the benefits may reach the people sufficiently early It has been taken over an area of over 200 acres near Panagarh for an experimental farm Here the latest

ideas for improvement will be carefully tried out by a band of experts The results will then be shown to the cultivators in a number of demonstration farms, in collaboration with the State Government It is hoped that within a decade the pattern of agriculture will be substantially changed and the economic condition of the peasantry will vastly improve

Power

At present the Corporation is supplying power from the Bokaro Thermal Power Station which has three sets capable of producing 50,000 KW each, and there is only a small hydro electric station at Tilaiya with a capacity of 4,000 KW Some critics have often questioned the necessity of a thermal power station in the Damodar Valley Project and have expressed the opinion that the Project should have been confined to hydro electricity only This criticism loses sight of the fact that there is tremendous demand for power in the Damodar Valley itself and the adjacent industrial areas of Calcutta and Jamshedpur and the most satisfactory and economical way of meeting this need is to have an integrated system of hydro and thermal power The water resources of the valley are not large enough to meet even the present need for power Also, all the water cannot be utilised without affecting many valuable mineral deposits Another important consideration is that the present demand for power is only a fraction of the potential demand of this area The abundance of coal and other valuable minerals the proximity to the port of Calcutta, the existing communication facilities and industrialisation of the area creating a tremendous demand for power This demand can be best met by building a grid based on optimum use of available power It would have been a very shortsighted policy to utilise hydro power for supplying some local demands only and to leave the larger requirements of the area to be met by an independent system based on thermal power only

When the First Phase of the Damodar Valley Project is completed the Corporation will have a total capacity of 1 04 lakh KW of hydro power and 1 72 lakh KW of thermal power After making allowance for stand by, the firm system capacity is rated at 1 97 lakh KW According to the load forecasts worked out by competent experts this capacity will prove inadequate by 1959 60 Further provision has been arranged for a 50,000 KW thermal set at Bokaro and a 40 000 KW hydro set at Konar If the proposed steel plant is located in the Damodar Valley as it seems likely, the capacity will have to be still increased

Under the Damodar Valley Corporation Act the Corporation can sell electric energy only where the energy is taken by the consumer at a pressure of 30,000 Volts or more It can therefore deal with the bigger industrial undertakings or authorities holding licences for local distribution Over a large area in Bihar and West Bengal the State Governments are now themselves acting as the distributors purchasing power in built from the Damodar Valley Corporation A question is often asked whether the Damodar Valley Corporation power is going to benefit the common man It should be under the Act from dealing with the small consumer It has to supply power in bulk to parties who add on their own costs for retail distribution and charge their own tariff The rate at which these distributors will purchase power from the Damodar Valley Corporation will seldom exceed 75 of an anna per KW hour and they should be able to keep their rates of supply reasonably low

Apart from supplying power in bulk the Corporation is taking a keen interest in the increased use of power in small rural crafts It has set up a team of experts for studying the possibilities in this direction It has also started a few small industries in rural areas for demonstrating how some of the traditional crafts can be wedded to power with advantage Though electrification of the rural areas is primarily the responsibility of the State Governments, the Corporation will do all that is possible with its limited resources to encourage the use of power by the villagers

Other Benefits

The Damodar Valley Corporation Act authorises the Corporation to undertake several other functions for the development of the Damodar Valley So far the Corporation has devoted its attention mostly to the three main objects, namely, flood control, irrigation and power As the constructing phase is coming to a close, more and more attention is being given to the other functions Of these, the greatest importance attaches to the control of soil erosion in the upper valley That soil erosion is fast growing into a serious problem in India, was known, until recently, only to a body of experts Now there is a general realisation that India has been steadily losing some of her best top soil and that remedial measures must not be delayed any longer The Corporation appreciated this problem from the beginning and has built up an efficient organisation for basic investigation, surveys and experiments It is now taking up large conservation schemes As most of the upper valley is well populated and the land is mostly owned by small farmers, the soil conservation work has to be undertaken with the cooperation of the villagers This is an arduous task as the farmer has to be convinced that it is worth his while to divert his labour and limited resources to this work A band of trained men are now working with the villagers and are trying to raise their enthusiasm by demonstration schemes subsidized by the Corporation These and many other welfare measures are the responsibility of the Corporation according to the Act But all these will cost money The Act has not given the Corporation any appreciable source of revenue It has to get the funds from the three participating Governments, namely, West Bengal, Bihar and the Central Government The welfare and general development activities of the Corporation are therefore limited to the extent to which it is given funds for such work

Fisheries

With a view to raising the nutritional standard of a people whose diet is deficient in proteins, the Damodar Valley Corporation plans development of fisheries along scientific lines Excellent opportunities for fish culture will be created by the impounding of water in the four major reservoirs formed at Tilaia, Konar, Maithon and Panchet Hill and the six small dams in the Upper Valley, and in the lower valley by the proposed barrage and network of canals The scope for fish culture will be further enlarged when the remaining three major dams of the second phase of the Damodar Valley Scheme are completed by 1960

After the completion of the first phase in 1955, the reservoir will cover an area of about 50,000 acres during the monsoon months, which however, will shrink to about 18,500 acres during the dry weather Even this, together with the 1,500 miles of canals and distributaries in the lower valley, should make possible fish cultivation on a large scale A target of 50,000 maunds of fish per year is expected to be attained, and this will meet the requirements of the industrial area of Bihar as well as the large market in Calcutta In terms of money, this supply is valued at Rs 40 lakhs a year at Rs 80 per maund—a rate which is half the current price in Calcutta and neighbouring areas

The Central Inland Fishery Research Station and the Damodar Valley Corporation carried out a survey, some time ago, of the fish fauna in the streams and rivers of the valley The 15 species of fish of economic importance found were, Catla Katla, Labeo bata, Wallago attu, Mystus aor, Callichrous Labeo boggut, Labeo dero, B sarana, Barbus chagunio and Clossoghobius giuris In the 100 acre foot Deochanda dam 26,000 fry of rohu, catla mrigala and calbasu, less than two inches in size, were released In about 8 months, without any fertilisation, catla weighed 4 lbs, rohu 8 ozs, mrigala 10 ozs, and calbasu 8 ozs Similarly 400,000 fingerlings have been released in the Tilaiya dam The corporation is carrying on experiments on the growth of fish by various cultural treatments

Afforestation

On the total Damodar Valley catchment area, nearly one and a half million acres are under forest and jungle Existing forests have, however, been almost ruined on account of poor management and indiscriminate cutting and burning of trees Not only will the Damodar Valley Corporation save these disappearing forests, on the other hand, it plans to reafforest 750 000 acres of the one million acres of wasteland to be reclaimed *In the first five year period the Damodar Valley* Corporation plans to reclaim 50 000 acres Detailed surveys have been made of areas in the resettlement zone

An important feature and adjunct of the Afforestation plan is the 3 5 acre nursery at the Deochanda Experimental Farm, where preliminary tests conducted take into consideration, apart from the suitability *of soil, that tree grown will make available plentiful supplies of* firewood and also help growth of certain industries Afforestation will render great help to soil conservation in the valley

HIRAKUD DAM

The Mahanadi is the largest of the rivers in the *Orissa State* It carries to the sea every year the surplus flow of the monsoon rains caught by over 50 000 square miles of land on either side of it all along its 533 miles course through Madhya Pradesh and Orissa But only an insignificant amount of all this water is being used for beneficial purposes In fact in its passage to the sea, the flood water causes every year immense damage to land and life in the valley Most of the land in the region lies at the mercy of the rains *suffering either from scarcity or surfiet of water In case much of the water now running to waste is so* used up, there can be hardly any recurring floods, which now terrorise the population

The Orissa State, now the play ground of the Mahanadi, is one of the richest in its natural resources Apart from the mountains of water that go romping to the sea there are in the State untapped treasures above and below the earth There are forests for fuel, timber, *paper* and textiles, iron ore for ste l bauxite for aluminium, ochre for paints graphite for pencils and arc lamps limestones for cement coal for power and chemicals—almost everything that can change the face of the backward territory into an industrial paradise

History—Hirakud Project

Hirakud, a once tiny village on the banks of the river Mahanadi in *Orissa* State has become world known For, here is being built the longest concrete dam in India and also the world s

The first stage of the Hirakud Dam Project consists of a dam across the Mahanadi river 9 miles from Sambalpur (Orissa) with irrigation canals taking off from the reservoir on either side and hydro electric installations There will be a power house at the base of the main dam with an installed capacity of 123,00 kw The main dam situated below the confluence of the Mahanadi and Ib rivers will be 15,748 feet long with 12 8 miles of low earthen dykes on the two sides A total length of 8 768 feet of the main dam will be in concrete and masonry to serve as power dam and spillway and the remaining will be of earth *The reservoir will have a gross storage* capacity of 6 6 million acre feet The first stage of the project is estimated to cost about Rs 70 78 crores

The complete control and *full exploitation of the Mahanadi for the over all development of the* valley can be achieved by the construction of three dam at Hirakud Tikarpara and Naraj

The Central Water & Power Commission therefore recommended that the *Hirakud Dam be taken* up first for construction as it was technically the simplest and would yield quick results

The Hirakud Dam will rise to a maximum height of about 195 feet from the river bed and will leap across the river from the left bank to the Hirakud island and thence to the right bank It can store up enough of flood waters to cover about 67 lakh acres—roughly the district of Koraput in Orissa—one foot deep The huge bulk of water so stored will make the ever hanging threat of floods in the valley a nightmare of the past

Hirakud Dam—Important Features

Steadily gathering pace through years of back-breaking work of thousands of men, the stride of construction at Hirakud today is almost at its peak The colossal earth dam, the longest of its kind in India, is being etched higher and higher against the vast boundless sky And nature too, by unusually brief rains, lent a helping hand during the last season The last working season, like the season before, has witnessed much that was scheduled for a later programme

The main dam with its concrete spillways and the earth dykes on the flanks, are shaping up a giant-edged bowl to be stored with ever-renewing water The life lines, the canals, are being carved out for unfailing supply of 6 72 lakh acres of land, now dependent on fitful rains Simultaneously power lines are stretching out from the power house under construction at the right end of the Hirakud Dam

The Project comprises —

1 A 3 mile concrete-cum-earth dam sandwitched with sections of concrete and masonry flanked by low earthen dykes 6¼ miles on the left and 6¾ miles on the rigat

Spillways are built in concrete, the Power Dam and transition walls in hand placed random rubble masonry and the remaining portions of the dam are of zoned, rolled earth fill Top level of the dam will be 197 feet above the deepest foundation

2 Canal system consisting of 2 main flow canals and an extensive network of branches, distributaries and minors

There will be 592 miles of canal, branches, distributaries and minor and some 9,500 miles of water courses

3 A power house with four generating units at the main Dam with an installed capacity of 123,000 KW (firm capacity 85,000 KW) with provision for 3 more generating sets for future use

4 506 miles of high voltage transmission lines These form the first stage of the Project and will cost Rs 70 78 crores

The enormity of the work can be gauged from the fact that 43 24 crore cubic feet of earth, 381 lakh cubic feet of concrete and masonry and 473 lakh cubic feet of stone work are involved just on the main dam The earthwork on dykes involve 19 77 crore cubic feet and 66 67 crore cubic feet of earth have to be dug out for the canals

Such a colossal work will naturally call for immense manpower and mechanical equipment for successful completion During peak construction nearly 37,000 workers were employed on the project Yet the work is too colossal for mere men High capacity machines have, therefore, come in for speed and economy Concreting and earthwork are done almost wholly by mechanical equipment For this besides a variety and number of earth digging, loading and hauling equipment of large capacities, there are two stone-crushing and conveying plants feeding two huge concrete mixing and batching plants located at either end of the main dam.

Hirakud Dam—Programme and Latest Progress

For the season 1954-55 (October 1954 to September 1955) it was programmed to place 9 4 crore cubic feet of earth and 90 lakh cubic feet of concrete and masonry and 108 lakh cubic feet of riprap, rockfill and filter blanket on the main dam It was proposed to raise the earth dam to 582 5 feet above sea level throughout its length and the Left Spillway to its crest, 610 feet above sea level The Transition and Cut-off walls were to be completed to final levels

On the right side the Spillway was scheduled to reach a level of 538 5 ft above sea level The four blocks of the Power Dam were also to be raised to 750 ft above sea level

Against this programme up to the end of June 1955, 11 9 crore cu ft of earth work and 110 lakh cu ft of riprap, rockfill and filter blanket were done during the season on the earth dam raising it mostly to 600 ft above sea level The total quantities of earthwork and rockfill and riprap and filter blanket done on the dam came to 31 55 crore cu ft (79 9 per cent) and 344 lakh cu ft (72 7 per cent) respectively

The foundation excavation was completed The left spillway was taken to 616 5 ft above sea level with its transition and cut-off walls completed to final levels On the right side, the spillway reaches 560 ft above sea level To reach these levels in Spillways, transitions and Power Dam to 590 ft a total of 118 6 lakh cu ft of concrete and masonry was laid on the main dam during the season to the end of June 1955 against the season's programme of 90 lakh cu ft of concreting and masonry (89 5 per cent) to the end of June 1955 In the Left Spillway the embedded parts for 40 sluice gates and 40 emergency gates have been fixed in position after final adjustment

The embedded parts for 24 sluices and 24 emergency gates have been lowered and fixed in position in the Right Spillway

On the Dykes 3 11 crore cu ft of earthwork and 47 lakh cu ft ruble packing were done during the season to the end of June 1955 against the seasonal programme of 3 78 crore cu ft and 39 lakh cu ft respectively This brought the up to-date total of earthwork on dykes to 17 05 crore cu ft (86 per cent) and of rubble packing to 170 lakh cu ft (80 per cent) In canal system excavation was done to the extent of 7 22 crore cu ft against 6 2 crore cu ft programmed for the whole season This completed canal excavation to 51 74 crore cu ft (77 per cent)

Thirty-six masonry structures along the main canal and branches and 42 structures along distributaries and minors have been completed Work on 130 structures along main canals and branches, and 74 structures along distributaries is in progress The work on investigation and excavation of water courses is progressing satisfactorily

Hirakud Dam—Progress in the Earlier Phase

By September 1954 a little more than half of the earthwork as well as of concreting and masonry and of rockfill, riprap and filter blanket were complete on the main dam The main earth dam reached an average height of about 128 feet on the Left Earth Section and Hirakud island to an average of about 100 ft on the Koharkud island portion The Left Spillway rose to 115 ft and its transition and cut off blocks to an average of 158 ft The Right Spillway rose to 115 ft and its transition and cut-off blocks to an average of 158 ft The Right Spillway blocks were between 66 and 82 feet The left and right Transition blocks reached the average level of 103 ft and the seven blocks of the Power Dam were raised to an average level of 75 ft

The penstock pipes which bring water from the reservoir behind the dam to the Power House and other related works were under erection Preparation of foundations, difficult and slow was almost complete

On the dykes a total of 13 64 crore cu ft about two thirds of earthwork and 123 lakh cu ft or a little more than half of rubble packing and in the canal system two thirds (44,52 crore cu ft) were done to the end of September last *Survey of all the transmission line routes were complete and work* began on the 132 kv lines

Hirakud Dam—Organisation

The Government of India are executing the project on behalf of the Government of Orissa A Control Board with the Chief Minister of Orissa as Chairman, is in over all charge of the Project, under the general supervision of the Government of India On the recommendation of the Control Board and the Government of Orissa, the revised estimate for Stage I amounting to Rs 70 78 crores has been approved by the Government of India

The second stage of the project comprises delta irrigation, the power channel, subsidiary dam and installation of additional power units Two schemes prepared in this connection are under consideration of the Government of India in consultation with the Planning Commission

Hirakud Dam—Benefits

Many and munificient are the gains that will spring from the multi purpose Hirakud Dam Project Irrigation will be vastly expanded, not only large tracts already under cultivation will be assured of lasting supplies of water but new areas will be opened up for irrigation Apart from the land fed directly by the Hirakud canals, a million more acres of rich silted soil in the Mahanadi delta will be irrigated by the waters released from the Hirakud lake *The fear of drought will be equally remote,* as the water in the Hirakud lake will obviate the need for timely rain Thus the extremes of flood and drought shall be no more effective in bringing whimsical changes in the fortunes of the inhabitants of the valley

Also the tragic aftermath of the floods, *i e*, the erosion of rich top soil from vast tracts of yielding land will vanish and the valley will become productive and an asset to the nation

Adequate supplies of water to crops at the right time can double and sometimes triple the yield The water can be used for developing electricity to turn the wheels of industry, to pump water for the fields, factories and homes, thresh and pound grain, make sugar, light villages and towns and produce a number of good things of the earth for comfortable living—all of which will remove greatly the anomaly of poverty admist plenty

Again the same waters can carry men, goods, grains and minerals of the rich land on either side of the river in boats, barges and steamers all the way to the sea And if much of the water now running to waste is so used up there can hardly be any recurring floods, which is now the terror and the curse of the Mahanadi delta

The completed project will make available nearly 200,000 kilowatts of cheap power that is expected to be used to the fullest extent for industries and for urban and rural electrification in the course of the next few years Power development will be gradual and with the cheap power *to the extent of 3,00,000 kw* made available by the project it will be possible to set up an industrial town in the neighbourhood of Sambalpur, where factories can be installed for the manufacture of cement, iron and steel, aluminium, paper, ferro alloys, textiles, sugar, cotton fertilizers, chemicals and other products Raw materials including coal,

iron, limestone, bauxite, timber, grasses are available within easy reach It is anticipated that the demand for power will increase from 25,000 kw. in 1952-53 to about 3,00,000 kw. in 1965-66 or even much earlier

Hirakud Dam—Irrigation Potential

1,094,953 acres of land will receive direct irrigation from this scheme, 6,19,065 acres by flow and 4,75,918 acres by lift. Besides, this direct irrigation the regulated supplies from the dam (ranging between 8,800 to 14,000 cusecs during the dry months against the present minimum of about 1,000 cusecs at Naraj) will provide protective irrigation to the existing irrigated areas in the delta during the critical period when supplies are short and also extend irrigation to the areas in the delta, which are likely to be submerged during floods

DYNAMIC ADVANCE

The picture of progress achieved in the field of Irrigation Power in the last eight years is one of dynamic advance in all the phases and spheres over the broad expanse of this subcontinent Whether the field be irrigation or power, soil conservation or flood control, we have taken strides towards the realization of higher standards by harnessing some more of the vast resources which nature has bountifully conferred upon us

Engineers' Seminars

In order to achieve and maintain a high tempo of development, coordination between the various State and Central organization has been intensified The Central Board of Irrigation and Power, which is one of the oldest institutions with an all India forum for exchange of information on Irrigation and Power research has arranged several symposia on the cost benefit ratio of River Valley Projects The Central Irrigation and Power Ministry, in their desire and anxiety to focus attention on several important questions bearing on the undertaking of new projects, and the efficient prosecution of those already in hand arranged their first Engineer's Seminar at Bhakra Nangal in 1953 This was followed by the Second Seminar held at Roorkee in 1954 and the Third Seminar convened at Srinagar in 1955 The scope of these seminars has been extended to cover a variety of subjects ranging from mechanization of construction methods on River Valley Projects, to rates and costs based on standardization and uniformity in the techniques in vogue in various states The question of utilization of water for power and for irrigation has been examined in detail as also the use of electricity in rural areas The achievement of the time targets in the completion of River Valley Projects and the scrutiny of the progress of the physical work in relation to the expenditures has also been debated threadbare

The question of personnel required for the River Valley Projects and the nature of the organizations which are necessary for the planning, designing and execution of these projects in an efficient and economical manner have also been thoroughly discussed in the seminars Here the engineers, administrators and political leaders have met in a democratic manner and short circuited the devious procedures of departmental routine to know what the others are talking about By their contribution, the seminars enabled the engineer-specialist and the financial expert and the administrator to expound their view-point on many a burning problem And as the meetings were attended by the Irrigation and Power Ministers of the Centre and the States, further coordination became an easier matter Recommendations and suggestions which met with general approval at the seminar sessions could be further processed and implemented on the authority of the proceedings which were recorded and circulated

Country-wide Awakening

The outstanding importance given to the River Valley Projects in the country's Five Year Plan awakened the people into a new consciousness for endeavour The agricultural emphasis in the lives of the

villages of India made them dependent on the vagaries of rainfall and the unpredictable behaviour of rivers and hill torrents The harnessing of these vast resources by storage reservoirs from which water could be released according to the necessity for irrigation and electric power has kindled a unique urge in the people for the earliest completion of such enterprises There is hardly any region in the country today where some minor or major project dealing with the betterment of conditions is not being planned and executed The multipurpose aspect of these projects, embodying assured irrigation, partial soil conservation, flood control and generation of hydro electric power for industrial outfits has now caught the imagination of the people and they are engrossed with the desire of maximising their effort in the heroic adventure of building the country

All Regions Moving Forward

Besides the Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud and Tungabhadra projects which were the principal projects undertaken about the time when the country attained independence, many more projects have been subsequently included in the development programme of the country The major projects which deserve mention are the Chambal in Madhya Bharat, the Kosi in Bihar, the Rihand in Uttar Pradesh the Koyna in Bombay and the Nandikonda in Andhra and Hyderabad These projects have filled the gap which existed in some of the important regions

Continuity of River Valley Programmes

The potential of River Valley Projects for raising the production of food and increasing power for industries of the household village and heavy type, has already found unqualified recognition throughout the length and breadth of the country The programmes undertaken have paved the way for still further projects being started in the same field The demand for a better standard of living and particularly for more electric power being harnessed into the service of man to remove drudgery is full of the quality of automatic growth Once kindled the desire for greater power goes on increasing and the experience of India is hardly going to be any different from the more advanced Western countries

The Union Government and the State Governments have recognized this basic truth and the Second Five Year Plan is again giving a very high place in the country's programme to River Valley Projects—this time with an emphasis on the power aspect of these projects Thus continuity will be secured in these programmes for the next 15 or 20 years and more till the problems of food and unemployment have been solved to the hilt and the present undernourished and underemployed humans will enjoy the benefits of plently in the spheres of agriculture and industry

Technological Advance

Greater emphasis has now come to be placed on the necessity for progress in the technological field The conquest of the forces of nature through human skill is the key to the solution of the problems of misery and want And diverse are the ways in which the colossal elements dormant in land and water can be pressed into the service of mankind The lack of growth of scientific knowledge and technical skill in India is traceable to the mischance of history, where in the past 1000 years or so India lost a great deal of her energies due to clashes in the human field, which resulted in her enfeeblement and consequent enslavement by foreign influences and occupation India's coming of age has now been certified by the proof she has given of a unique tempto of progress in the field of Irrigation and Power Projects

The greatest coordination has been witnessed in the field of Research and Design, which have registered a marked progress throughout the length and breadth of the country Every big state has set up its own Irrigation and Power Research Institute Central Design Organizations are being created in each

state and further linking-up of these bodies with the Union Government's Central Water Power Commission *is now being initiated. The State Organizations are tackling all the specific problems which are peculiar* to the States and the Union organization is adding further refinement, strength and authority to the experience and findings of the state organizations A comparison of the advantages which are flowing as a *result of such design and research coordination with the earlier phases of the development history in the* various parts of the country, has shown how superior and effective the present procedures are in the context of overall achievement There are however still quite a few important gaps and the process started in the *last 8 years needs to be augmented to raise the tempo and quality of still newer solutions to be found for reaching the targets of development in the minimum time*

Puplic Co-operation in the Execution of Projects

An altogether new and revolutionary advance made in the execution of the simpler projects of the country has been in the sphere of voluntary contribution to the effort mobilized for the construction activities *Such of the projects as do not need high mechanization have lent themselves to such participation in particular Examples are the construction of embankments for the flood control works and the digging of canals* and distributory systems for irrigation works

The call for cooperation from the people in the context of the speedy and economical completion of River Valley Projects has received a note-worthy response The people showed utmost willingness to be organized into labour cooperatives Whereas a few instances can be cited of purely honorary contribution, payment has been made with in the scheduled rates for work done by the local people The quality of their work has earned a tribute from the supervisors and engineers in charge The elimination of the middle man has reduced the overheads in the cost of works and attracted greater initiative and response from the workers The field has been opened for the adoption of an idea for which there can be unlimited application in a country where man power abounds and training can be easily imparted to the workers for attaining the desired standards of efficiency

The first chapter has now been written in the history of the development of India's resources for Irrigation and Power Already results are visible of the direct good that the work has brought into the lives and careers of millions of people in the country

This phase is glorious in its own right, judged by even the high standards developed by the progressive countries during the last century But the programme is sure to excel the *records created in the last eight years The genius of this country in the creative field of River Valley Development corresponds* greatly to the peaceful and spiritual trends which have conferred greatness on this country since the dawn *of history* What Rama and Krishna, Budha and Asoka *achieved in the field of human progress on the* moral and spiritual plane is now bing re-incarnated in the material well being of the country with the simple common factor of the good-of all (Sarvodaya) and injury-to-none (Ahimsa) May the Providence lead India *to the achievement of her destiny as determined by the selfless and the sincere endeavours of her people*



Shri Morarji Desai
Chief Minister Bombay

CONGRESS RULE

SEVEN YEARS OF CONGRESS RULE IN BOMBAY

IF we have achieved anything or failed to achieve what we desired to achieve, it must be viewed against the background of the situation as we found it, with all its opportunities and hurdles, when the Congress Ministry assumed office in April 1946 in Bombay State. They were days of difficulties and uncertainties of all kinds not merely for the State but for the whole country. A number of problems were then created by *the partition of the country and its aftermath which was even bloody in some parts of the country.*

Bombay State had bitter memories of even past communal trouble with outbreak of riots even in cosmopolitan cities of the position of Bombay. The new situation called for firm and unflinching action based on our basic approach of adhering to the ideals of the Secular State. We therefore, made a strong and successful stand against communalism and its *manifestation in public life. Law and order were enforced energetically* and a firm grip was maintained on the situation. As security of life property and person is the first condition of any Government worth the name of the people, it was established for every citizen irrespective of his race, caste or sectarian belief. No compromise was made on the issue of secularism and fairplay for all and the policy which later was codified in the national constitution was carried out.

In certain areas of the State, the 1942 movement had released the forces that had been active with violence directed with patriotic motives and, as happens during the period of transition, we had to face the problem of dealing with unruly elements. It was dealt with successfully and after a sporadic outbreak here and there, the pockets of unlawful activity and violence were completely wiped out of existence. A similar situation arose

when in these same areas mass hysteria was released following the assassination of Gandhiji It was a psychological outburst which subsided and cooled off gradually But it had to be handled with the same firmness we had shown in dealing with any and all lawlessness Harmonious relations between all classes were restored in no time and they continue

The Congress Ministry in Bombay, besides this, had to face a number of other problems also created by the overall post partition situation in the country The tidal wave of mass exodus broke on the Bombay City bringing to it masses of panicky and dispirited displaced persons, the bulk among whom had lost or left behind all they possessed It was our task and duty to offer shelter and subsistence to the displaced persons and later to rehabilitate them in close collaboration with the Union Government The makeshift arrangements of improvised but well administered camps in various places in the State later progressed into peaceful townships and settlements for the uprooted humanity The big townships of Ulhasnagar, Sardarnagar and 13 other townships and colonies were established The construction of 18,187 houses and 845 shops had been completed, while that of 8,640 is in hand so far During 1953-54, 8,000 houses are to be constructed in the two townships near Bombay City Every possible effort was and is being made to help and rehabilitate the displaced persons with vocational training in production centres and loans

The third formidable problem was the problem of food shortage It was then and continued to remain a world and a national problem Bombay State, with its capital of a first rate industrial city and port which makes an important contribution to the country's financial, industrial and business life, had been a deficit State An extensive famine and scarcity belt with recurrent crisis produced by erratic rains and bad seasons for agricultural operations aggravates the situation periodically The economy of the State was badly hit by the strain of the world war We passed through some difficult days We set up and strengthened the control organization with rationing, the pattern of which was copied in other States Our job was to introduce a system of controls, State intervention and even State trading to ensure that no citizen was denied the right to have the cereal food and necessaries of life at a reasonable price and the available resources were distributed equitably The black market and corrupt practices both in the administration and in the commercial and business life had to be combated

Our constructive effort to improve production of food in the State has been sustained The expansion of the agricultural department and service, encouragement to grow more food compaign through establishement of various facilities and concessions, improvement in water resources through major and minor irrigation works, strengthening of the co operative organizations for the benefit of the rural population, aid for introducing improved methods in cultivation including latterly that of the Japanese system of paddy cultivation have given good results and we look forward to achieving selfsufficiency at no distant date if the tempo of progress is maintained

With a population of Bombay State of 35,944,000 and an area of 1,11,434 sq miles, more than half of which is under cultivation, the Ministry had been called upon to make up a deficit of about a million tons of foodgrains The drive for improved production launched by Government recorded an increase of 9,300 tons in 1947-48, 1,09,000 tons in 1948 49, 1,51,000 in 1949-50, 1,82,300 tons in 1950 51 and 2,80,200 in 1951-52 A fairly comprehensive idea of the progress achieved in this field can be gained from the fact that the target achieved out of the total 5-years target of 56,51,000 acres to be brought under improved seed was 40,56,635 acres in 1951-52 while the expected target for 1952 53 is 40,20,000 acres and that proposed for 1953-54 is 47,60,980 acres, thus exceeding the original target The target achieved in 1951-52 of area irrigated from minor irrigation works out at 2,17,516 acres The 5 year target is 4,15,068 acres and 2,94,012 acres in 1952-53 while that proposed for 1953-54 is 3,93,802 acres

As large areas in Bombay State have been unfortunately hit very frequently by the irregular monsoon, we had to mobilize all resources at our disposal and combine a programme of relief with construction of dams and bandharas as insurance against such scarcity Our effort had had the result of preventing death disease and starvation in the scarcity areas of the State Despite the hardship and suffering caused to lakhs of people, the law and order situation remained satisfactory and when the Prime Minister personally went round the scarcity scarred areas, during the latest disaster, he was struck by the spirit of fortitude and will to conquer the calamity through the fullest measure of co-operation with Government

The police machine demanded reorganization during the period of transition from the foreigner's to our own people's rule Sustained efforts had to be made to purge the organization of corruption and inefficiency and to bring about a change in the attitude of the Police to the people The Bombay State and city police had had a tradition of efficiency in investigation of crime and other police functions, but the foreign rulers had used the organization as a principal security arm directed against the nationalist elements It was Indianized, of course, and its morale was considerably strengthened through encouragement to officers and men who adjusted themselves to the changed conditions and for fresh tasks that awaited them They have been trained to regard themselves as servants and friends of the people We had to devise and initiate various measures for streamlining the police organization with a view to increasing its efficiency The necessary reorganization and improvement of equipment including the use of the wireless special training and use of uptodate methods in crime detection and prevention was and is being carried out The police force was strengthened with the raising of the home guards and village defence organizations that work in close liaison with the police

Housing shortage was yet another problem A large programme of construction of tenements for industrial workers and low income groups as well as for displaced persons was launched The Housing Board has so far constructed or reconditioned 7,050 tenements at a cost of Rs 2½ crores In addition 840 tenements have been in progress during 1952 53 while construction of 1 625 more tenements will start shortly A total of about 1,400 acres of land were acquired by Government for cooperative housing societies while loans of Rs 118 80 lakhs were sanctioned to 27 societies A special drive for facilitating housing for Harijans has been carried out and they are given various concessions and facilities for the purpose in addition to subventions to municipalities employing Harijan workers

These activities have contributed greatly towards easing the situation of acute housing shortage Government has also given liberal aid to cooperative housing societies and has also given help in the formation of a Corporation in which banks and insurance companies as well as cooperative societies are participating to accelerate the building activity

The merger of the former Indian States increased the dimensions and population of the State and the burden was thrown on the State of bringing the merged territory considerable part of which was backward in line with the State in matters of administration and public welfare and amenities including education

Alongside these immediate problems were the problems of economic reconstruction of the country Immediately on assuming office in 1946 we transformed what was known as the post war reconstruction plan into a plan of development schemes of nation building activities and reform The programme was launched immediately and many of the schemes have recorded satisfactory progress Then came our Five Year Plan The Bombay State development programme in the Five Year Plan involves an expenditure of Rs 146 crores and comprises schemes of development of agriculture veterinary and animal husbandry, dairying and milk supply forests cooperation fisheries, rural development irrigation projects power

projects, cottage industries roads, road transport, ports and harbours, education, medical facilities, public health, housing labour and labour welfare and amelioration of backward classes In comparison with the other eight A class States in India, Bombay's development programme is the biggest, i e, costing Rs 146 31 crores out of the total cost of Rs 609 99 crores for all the nine States including Bombay The expenditure for all States is Rs 829 crores and Bombay's share works out at 17 5 per cent as against the percentage share, on the basis of population, of a little over 10

The success achieved in the implementation of community development projects in our State has been widely acknowledged Both in the development areas and outside, there are signs of great popular enthusiasm and voluntary effort which have been responsible for construction of roads, bandharas and other works of collective utility for the village community The community development project areas are generally located in backward areas Despite this, the people are coming forward spontaneously to make their contribution in money and labour

The State Government undertook on October 2, 1952 work on four full village development projects and one development block on which Bombay Government's share amounts to Rs 53,69,000 The nine national extension service blocks and six community development blocks were started in October 1953 In addition to these a large programme of local works has also been undertaken It is expected that, by the close of the year, each district will be covered with one or more community development blocks or national extension service blocks and about one third of the area of the State will be covered with the national extension service blocks during the period of the Five-Year Plan

The State sponsored a programme of Sarvodaya which is probably unique in the whole of the country A sum of Rs 120 lakhs has been allotted for it The programme is in operation practically in all the districts of the State and there are 29 centres established which are in charge of Sanchalaks or directors who are mostly non official, including some who had been associated with the village uplift work of Mahatma Gandhi In fact, the Gandhian ideology underlines the activities of the Sarvodaya Centres which are mainly located in backward areas The Sarvodaya workers, in close collaboration with all departments of Government, are engaged in activities that enable the villagers to live a new, happy and prosperous life The results, although they cannot be expected to be spectacular, have considerably influenced the life of the people who had been subjected to neglect before and who have now been provided with opportunities of improving their standard of living and income and thus living a decent and prosperous life

The State's effort to improve and expand the medical and public health service and the success it has achieved are reflected in the reduction of death rate from 25 5 to 18 31 per 1,000 persons and the infant mortality rate from 160 83 to 128 66 per 1,000 persons since the popular Government assumed office

The State has been the pioneer in passing legislation that prescribed penalties for imposing disabilities on Harijans' through refusal of free access to public wells, places of entertainment, barbers' shops, restaurants etc All types of education including the collegiate has been free for them and they receive special assistance with grants of scholarships, free hostel accommodation, etc Backward Classes also receive various kinds of financial and other assistance for purposes of agriculture, housing and rehabilitation and they are guaranteed a certain percentage of preference with relaxation of recruitment rules in Government service

The jail reforms introduced in the State follow the lines of humane treatment to prisoners and of a new approach of reform of criminals who find the jails as asylum and training centre equipping the prisoners with suitable training for settling down as honest and useful citizens Various experiments have been and continue to be carried out and they have yielded good results in reclaiming persons branded as

criminals, but who are being given a new hope and a chance to live a decent life The irrational stigma of criminal tribes ' attached to certain backward communities have also been wiped off and the doors of fair deal and opportunity to the people classified as criminal tribes and formerly practically interned from birth to death have been opened We have also been trying to rehabilitate the members of the former criminal tribes .

One of the most successful experiments undertaken by the State was that of nationalisation of road transport Government, in the beginning, replaced private operators on main routes of motor transp rt and later formed a statutory corporation which operates on all important routes throughout the State This service has brought considerable relief to the travelling public as reasonable fares are charged and com fort and safety are guaranteed

Education has been given top priority *The total annual expenditure on education increased from* Rs 9 60 crores in 1946 47 to Rs 21 61 crores in 1949 50 from all sources The expenditure on education from the State revenues alone increased from Rs 4 42 crores in 1946 47 to Rs 12 39 crores in 1949 50 which is an increase of nearly 300% In the subsequent years, the expenditure amounted to Rs 12 crores and 14 crores or 20% and 25%, respectively of the total expenditure of Government The expenditure on *primary education alone increased from Rs 2 79 crores in 1946 47 to Rs 6 54 crores The State has* launched an all out drive to liquidate illiteracy and have introduced free and compulsory education which would gradually cover the entire population in the villages Considerable progress has also been achieved in the expansion of training in higher education including technical education Other types of education including basic education have also been included in the ambitious programme

We have been making sustained efforts to reconstruct the rural economy and to make the people feel the glow of freedom, by bringing prosperity and happiness to them It is an uphill task because re construction involves repairs to the economy damaged severely by the foreign rule of 150 years particularly at a time when wide repercussions of the world war were being felt and the shortages of all types and various difficulties obstructed the programme of nation building activities

So far as agricultural improvement and development are concerned a programme of expans on of the facilities for agricultural training, including h gher education imparted in the State agricultural colleges establishment of agricultural schools mainly for the benefit of agriculturists sons was put through Various facilities for research in agriculture and allied activities including live stock, were provided and every possible State assistance was given to the agriculturists to enable them to improve their methods of culti vation and help them to meet their requirements of finance and materials A State wide organization was established for this purpose and the co operative organization particularly was expanded and strengthened Today, the State Department extends every type of assistance to them

Among the measures adopted to bring relief to the rural population and help them to improve their socio economic condition must be included the reorganized machinery set up to reduce the burden of agri culturists' indebtedness elimination of usury through the licensing of money lenders or Sahukars and regulation of their business provision for rural finance through the cooperative organization This organization has been developed phenomenally and today co operative societies have been established in over 60% of the villages in our State and over 70% of the rural population is benefiting from them

*We have throughout attached greatest importance to healthy development of the co-operative move-*ment The State Co operative Department which supervises development of co operative organizations has expanded considerably We had had the situation carefully surveyed by expert committees which also suggested the lines of development financial structure and expansion programme

Our Co operative Department has a special village industries section This section helps villagers including backward classes to organize on co operative basis and form their co operative societies A considerable section of Adivasi labour, exploited before by forest contractors, has now been organized into cooperative societies of forest labourers These societies are given Government forest coupes at upset prices and also various concessions so that they can share the profits from extraction of timber and other forest operations In fact, they are replacing the former forest contractors The number of primary producers societies in various village industries is 1,257 State sponsored training facilities have been established for the benefit of villagers and financial assistance is also given to them During 1946 52, loans of Rs 28 82,129 and subsidies of Rs 2,21,812 were granted both to co operative societies and individuals starting village industries In addition, the operations of the societies are covered by financial guarantee by Government which involved Rs 1,20,64,505 In carrying out this programme we have secured the fullest co operation from the people themselves and advisory bodies in close liaison with the administration have been functioning throughout the State

To improve the economic and social conditions of agriculturists and to ensure full and efficient use of land for agriculture, the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act was passed by the Government of Bombay in the year 1948 It aimed at removing the age old conflict between landlords and tenants by bringing security of tenure and enjoyment of just rights to the cultivator The provisions of the law have produced the effect of guaranteeing tenure to the cultivator and prevented his exploitation The proportion of rent is strictly regulated by the State Under the law, large holdings and absentee landlordism are being eliminated in the interests of, and for the benefit of, the tillers of the land The various special tenures have been abolished

Among the major achievements that have attracted the widest attention must be included the Aarey Milk Colony of the many milk development schemes introduced by us, which supplies clean and pure milk to the people of Greater Bombay The colony houses cattle stabled before in the city and constitutes an interesting and certainly successful experiment of the State combining private enterprise with State assistance because the owners of stables in the colony are provided with all modern amenities and service of veterinary attendence and care at reasonable cost Such schemes of milk distribution under State control are being established in other cities in the State

The central dairy at Aarey, in its 26 large dairy farm units, houses 13,000 head of cattle Equipped with all *modern installations including a pasteurization and bottling plant, it handles every day* 3,200 maunds of milk which is processed and distributed daily in 3 50,000 bottles for use in Greater Bombay Seven hundred maunds of toned milk which is pasteurised at the plant is used by city hospitals and by the poorer section of the population which cannot afford to consume whole milk The various works under the milk scheme involved an expenditure of Rs 3,33,01,797 upto June 1952 In addition, a number of schemes have been introduced of cattle salvage, cooperative marketing, dairy development with grant of loans to large scale dairy farmers, etc

Dairy development is linked with the activities of the cattle improvement with veterinary services including research in cattle diseases and active help to breeders and farmers for improving the stock Veterinary aid is extended to all agriculturists through Veterinary dispensaries and service hospitals and cattle taken to these institutions are treated completely free

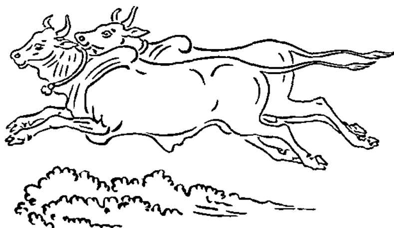
In the sphere of labour welfare pioneering efforts have been made by enacting laws that strengthened the trade union organization and prevented strikes and lockouts that used to take place following disputes between employers and labour The machinery for arbitration, conciliation and adjudication which has

been set up has been working satisfactorily State intervention also covers the sphere of standardization of wages in various industries, strict enforcement of the factory and other laws for the protection of labour The State, at the same time, has secured the cooperation of employers and gets them to sit at the same conference table with labour for evolving general policies in the interests of production Our policy has proved successful in stabilizing productive activity and preventing a mutually harmful class conflict

We have endeavoured to implement the directive principles laid down in our Constitution Accordingly, we introduced Prohibition in Bombay State, although its introduction involved a loss of substantial revenue which has, however, been more than made up by raising additional revenue through healthier taxation The programme of prohibition was introduced gradually till total prohibition finally came into operation from 1950 There is clear evidence to establish that large masses of people particularly in rural and backward areas, are saving the money they used to spend on drink and drugs and their standard of life and income have gone up while the money saved is being invested in better care of families, education of children, investment in jewellery, property, etc

We have implemented yet another Directive Principle by effecting separation of judicial functions from the executive ones

It is not possible for me in this short article to recount even briefly the programme of reconstructive work we have taken up I can best conclude by saying that no effort has been lacking on our part in the discharge of the sacred duty imposed upon us and to live up to the trust reposed in us by the electorate We have to battle with great difficulties and we cannot claim that we have not made mistakes or have satisfied all We take note of what our critics say and try to improve our capacity for work Seven years is not a long period in the history of development of the country We are not and never have been self complacent We have tried to do our best and the effort we put in has borne concrete fruits in many cases



INDIA AFTER INDEPENDENCE

THE INDIAN ECONOMY. 1947-48 TO 1954-55

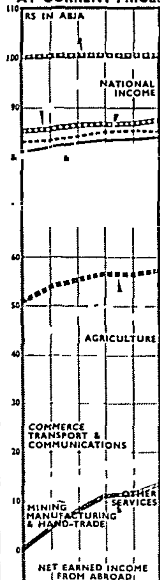
CAN an underdeveloped economy raise itself by its own boot straps? Current economic thinking has tended to be markedly pessimistic on this issue, it has tended to assume that without foreign help the gap between advanced and backward economies must invariably widen This is an error It seems from a view derived largely from classical economic theory, that there is a vicious circle which tends to keep backward economies in a state of relative under-development There is much that is plausible in such a view which seems to have added support from at least a hundred years of economic history in South and South-East Asia The fact that Japan broke through the vicious circle over fifty years ago has tended to pass unnoticed in a large section of current economic literature Where it has been noticed, the fact that in Japan the performance of the economy was greatly influenced by an expansionist imperialist policy has tended to suggest that a similar result cannot be attained in the short period by an economy which has no expansionist forces, so to speak, outside itself

This makes the behaviour of the Indian economy between the years 1952 and 1955 one of the most interesting studies in the whole field of current economics Between these years, India raised herself almost completely by her own boot straps, and in at least one year, 1953-54, her under-developed economy exhibited possibly the highest rate of economic progress in the world.

Official figures do not do full justice to the dynamic quality of recent Indian economic progress For one thing, they stop at the end of the official year 1953 54—that is, March 31, 1954 Indian industrial production reached its peak in April, 1955, and the spectacular rise in industrial production in the calendar year 1954, which was over 25 per cent in twelve months, is not reflected in the latest official national income figures Again, the choice of the year 1948-49 as a base year for measuring national

NATIONAL INCOME OF INDIA BY SECTORS

AT CURRENT PRICES



NATIONAL INCOME

	Current Prices	1948-49 Prices
1948-49	86.5	86.5
1949-50	90.1	88.2
1950-51	95.3	88.5
1951-52	99.9	91.6
1952-53	98.6	95.2
1953-54	[illegible]	91.5

FROM AGRICULTURE ANIMAL HUSBANDRY ETC.

	Current Prices	1948-49 Prices
	[illegible]	[illegible]

	Current Prices	1948-49 Prices
1948-49	16.0	16.0
1949-50	16.6	16.4
1950-51	16.9	16.6
1951-52	17.9	17.3
1952-53	17.8	17.9
1953-54	19.0	19.6

FROM MINING MANUFACTURING AND HAND TRADE

	Current Prices	1948-49 Prices
1948-49	14.8	14.8
1949-50	15.0	14.6
1950-51	15.3	14.8
1951-52	17.3	15.8
1952-53	17.6	16.4
1953-54	19.0	16.7

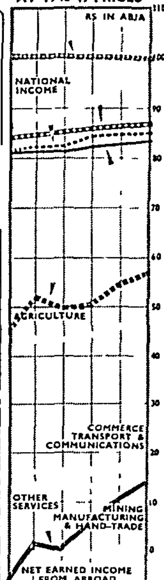
FROM OTHER SERVICES

	Current Prices	1948-49 Prices
1948-49	13.4	13.4
1949-50	13.8	13.8
1950-51	14.4	13.9
1951-52	15.0	14.3
1952-53	15.4	15.0
1953-54	16.1	15.4

NET EARNED INCOME FROM ABROAD

	Current Prices	1948-49 Prices
1948-49	-0.2	-0.2
1949-50	-0.2	-0.2
1950-51	-0.2	-0.2
1951-52	-0.2	-0.2
1952-53	-0.1	-0.1
1953-54	-0.1	-0.1

AT 1948-49 PRICES



income at constant prices has tended, for abstruse statistical reasons, to depress the rate of progress in at least two years included in the official series It is almost certain that, for these reasons, the official national income figures understate India's economic achievements in the years after 1952

The official figures may nevertheless be accepted as a starting point Here they are

TABLE I

NATIONAL INCOME OF THE INDIAN UNION, 1948-49 TO 1953-54.

(In billions of Indian rupees—one billion equals one thousand million).

Year	*At Current prices*	*At Constant* 1948 49 *prices*
1948-49	86 5	86 5
1949 50	90 1	88 2
1950 51	95 3	88 5
1951-52	99 9	91 6
1952 53	98 6	95 2
1953 54	106 0	99 5

These figures represent a rise of 15 per cent in real income in five years or an average rise of nearly 3 per cent per year So to state the result, however, is to do violence to the last three years Between 1948 49 and 1950 51 the rate of development was just 2 3 per cent in two years or about 1 per cent per year Between 1950 51 and 1953-54 it has been 12 4 per cent In other words, the rate of economic progress in the last three years would appear to be nearly four times as much as in the previous two The average rate of progress was about 4 1 per cent per year

Scholars in many countries of the world are now examining the performance of the Indian economy over the last eight years to try to understand how this sudden change in the pattern of development has been initiated *It is difficult at this stage to give an answer to the question as to how far the existing trends are* ' intrinsic ' in the economy The period of dynamism has been too short for any final opinion to be formed What can however be stated is that the chances are that present rates of advance will, if anything, be exceeded in the short period

The reason for this optimism is to be found in three main co ordinates These are the rate of capital formation, the ratio of investment to income generated, and finally the trends of imports and exports which govern a country's foreign exchange payments All these co-ordinates are running so well at the present time that one may be justified in the belief that no setback is immediately forthcoming

The Rate of Capital Formation:

Official figures placed before Parliament in July 1955 give Indian domestic investment and foreign lending as in the table II below.

Table II

INDIAN DOMESTIC INVESTMENT AND FOREIGN LENDING

(In billions of rupees)

Year	*Net Domestic Capital Formation*	*Net Lending to the rest of the world*	*Net Domestic Capital Formation plus net Lending Abroad*
1948 49	446	—239	207
1949 50	524	— 50	274
1950 51	589	56	645
1951-52	672	—174	498
1952 53	659	74	733
1953 54	719	66	785

It will be seen that net domestic capital formation inclusive of net lending has more than trebled itself in five years The trend has been continually upward except for one year, 1951-52, where there was a marked setback largely because of the foreign account It will be remembered that that was a year of large food imports—a contingency not likely to be repeated in any coming year There is evidence that the marginal rate of capital formation in India is as high as 15 per cent against something between 7 and 8 per cent as an average figure for 1953-54 This implies that on every increase of output India is likely to save twice as much in percentage terms as she saves on the average at present In other words, the rate of saving might conceivably rise from about 7 per cent to nearly 10 per cent if income should rise from about Rs 11,000 crores at present prices to Rs 14,000 crores in five years from now

The Ratio:

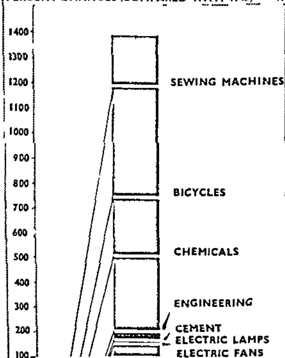
Secondly, on the problem of the volume of investment which is required to generate a given level of income, the last five years have provided evidence to show that the belief expressed in the First Five-Year Plan that a ratio of 3 to 1 would obtain was unduly pessimistic The experience of the last five years suggests that the ratio in India might be much nearer to 1 5 to 1 than 3 to 1 which was suggested at the time the Plan was framed There is an indication that even the figure of 1 93 to 1 suggested in the Draft Plan Frame is an overestimate *There is certainly ground for believing that with a monetary expenditure of about Rs 5,000* crores the income targets of the Second Five-Year Plan which is to provide for an increase of 25 per cent over National Income for 1955 56 might be exceeded

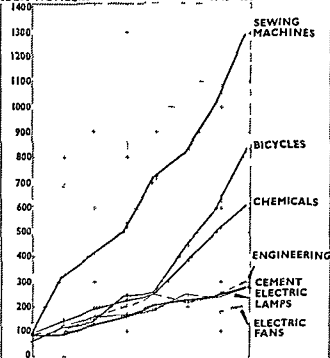
The Balance of Payments:

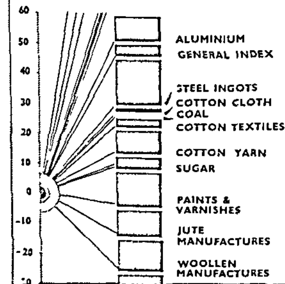
Finally there is the question of the balance of payments The figures in table II above will show that while there have been serious deficits in the past, the position has now stabilised itself The figures for 1954 55 not included in the table show no deterioration in the payments' position in that year compared with the previous years How far will this good fortune depend on our future import policy ? If we decide as is now proposed to import at least a million tons of steel per year in addition to what we are importing at the present time the chances of maintaining a favourable balance will be small This, however, does not imply that the gap will necessarily be large There is no need for alarm The experience of the Indian economy

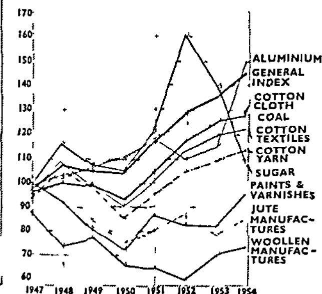
THE SPECTRUM OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION 1946-1954

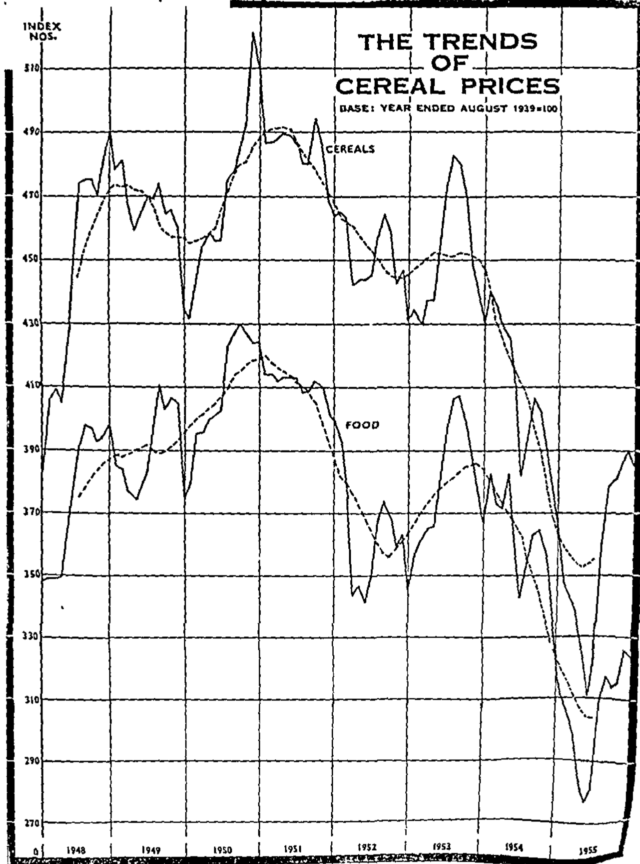
PERCENT CHANGES (COMPARED WITH 1946) INDEX NUMBERS 1946 = 100











THE TRENDS OF CEREAL PRICES
BASE: YEAR ENDED AUGUST 1939=100
INDEX NOS.
510
490
470
450
430
410
390
370
350
330
310
290
270
0
CEREALS
FOOD
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955

in the last few years suggests no complacency, but a feeling of sturdy confidence, the expression of a marked psychological, as well as an impersonal economic, buoyancy

The character of the economic changes which have produced this buoyancy is described in the sections which follow

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS IN THE INDIAN UNION

1 **Food grains:**

The Indian Union was deficit in cereals when independence came in August, 1947 Only 69 per cent of the irrigated area, 65 per cent of the wheat and 68 per cent of the rice area fell to India's share as against 82 per cent of the pre-Partition population of the country which remained in the Indian Union In 1947 India had only 198 million acres under cultivation for a population of more than 320 million Food shortage in physical olume even at the low subsistence level prevalent in 1947 amounted to nearly 4 million tons Food imports cost the Union a significant amount of foreign exchange every year In the table below are set out the figures for the value of food grains imports

Year	*Food Imports (crores of Rs)*
1948 49	73 2
1949 50	99 5
1950 51	80 4
1951-52	228 1
1952 53	153 1
1953-54	63 6
1954 55	68 0

From 1948 49 to 1951-52 India's food imports went on rising steadily Our difficulties were accentuated by unfavourable weather which continued till 1951-52 Shortage of food brought nearly 40 per cent of the population under rationing Naturally, the atmosphere at the end of 1952 when the final version of the First Five-Year Plan was released, was gloomy Even the Bernstein Report which was presented to the Government of India by a mission of the International Monetary Fund which visited this country during January to March, 1953 said "While it is hoped that by the end of the plan the need to import food grains will have been eliminated, this will probably not be possible without some control over consumption" Similar sentiments were expressed in the First Five-Year Plan In 1952-53 the agricultural situation in the country took a turn for the better Food production went up from 54 million tons in 1949-50 to 60 million tons in 1952-53 This increase was accompanied by a crash in agricultural prices and then an era of comparative easiness in the food market ensued Bold policies pursued by C Rajagopalachari in Madras and the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai at the Centre brought about decontrol of food grains in vast areas of this country, while the timid amongst the economists (and even the foreigners) were very much sceptic about India's ability to discard rationing By 1953-54 the picture had altered altogether A record acreage of 261 million was sown in 1953 54, with the result that a tremendous uplift in agricultural production was recorded The gloom which prevailed till the end of 1952 vanished and it suddenly dawned upon the governments both at the Centre and the States that there was no need of continuing control on food distribution

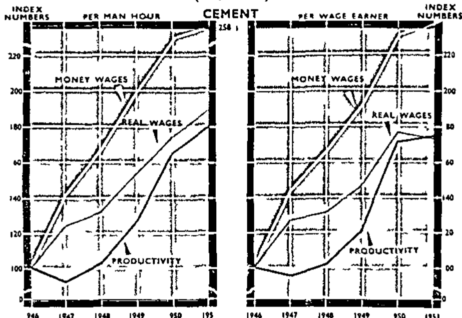
All these years the Government of India has been steadily pursuing a policy of investment in agriculture There were permanent schemes of construction of wells, tanks, channels and small dams and there were other measures like the production and distribution of improved seeds, the application of fertilizers and manures and protection of plants with insecticides All these efforts had greatly raised, as it were the level of Indian agricultural output over the one which prevailed in the preceding five-year cycle The fact is too often forgotten that all these measures must have gone to raise the floor of agricultural production too much tends to be attributed to favourable years

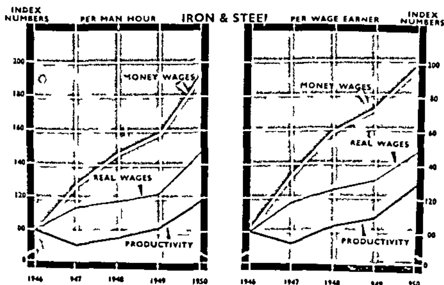
2 Plantation Crops:

The area under plantation crops in the Indian Union is hardly 1 5 million acres as against 261 million acres under food, but the capacity of this industry for creating wealth for this country is great The major portion of this wealth is earned from foreign countries As the table below will show the total export earnings from the plantation crops have more than doubled since independence, whereas in 1947-48 our foreign exchange earnings from this industry were 17 per cent of our total exports, our earnings in 1954 55 were 32 per cent of the total exports The importance of plantation crops as earners of foreign exchange has increased significantly and the plantation crops hold out great hopes for the industrialisation of this country

Year	*Plantation export earnings (Rs crores)*	*Total export earnings (Rs crores)*	*Plantation earnings as percentage of total earnings*
1947-48	70 25	395 30	17 0
1948-49	82 50	421 00	19 6
1949 50	104 35	472 01	21 8
1950 51	125 25	579 00	20 1
1951-52	141 67	701 93	20 0
1952-53	120 60	551 04	21 8
1953-54	137 80	515 70	26 7
1954-55	183 00	572 30	32 0

This significant contribution of the plantation crops to India's export earnings has been achieved with very little expansion in total acreage It might also be stated that while the plantation crops have given to India foreign exchange of the order of nearly Rs 1,000 crores in these years they were also making substantial contribution to the Central budget The receipts of tea export duty in the year 1954 55 contributed Rs 30 crores to the national exchequer This was, it is true, a miracle year for tea which is not likely to be repeated Two conclusions can be drawn in regard to the government policy in the handling of the plantation industries While they have not succeeded in extending the acreage which, in any case, is restricted under international agreements, these policies have not hindered a significant rise in production and a great receipt in foreign earnings They have also contributed substantially to an expansion of the domestic market In tea, in particular, there is evidence that the internal market has risen by about 50 per cent in the last seven years The achievements, so far as plantation crops are concerned, are to be found in the many sided benefits they have conferred on the economy as a whole


INDICES OF PRODUCTIVITY, MONEY WAGES AND REAL WAGES
(BASE 1946 100)
INDEX NUMBERS
PER MAN HOUR
CEMENT
PER WAGE EARNER
INDEX NUMBERS
MONEY WAGES
REAL WAGES
PRODUCTIVITY
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951


INDICES OF PRODUCTIVITY, MONEY WAGES AND REAL WAGES
(BASE 1946 100)
INDEX NUMBERS
PER MAN HOUR
IRON & STEEL
PER WAGE EARNER
INDEX NUMBERS
MONEY WAGES
REAL WAGES
PRODUCTIVITY
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950

SELECTED ECONOMIC INDICATORS

National Income & Capital formation (Figures for financial years)	Unit	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54
National income at current prices	in Rs. Abja	86 5	90 1	95 3	99 9	98 6	106 0
National income at 1948-49 Prices	in Rs. Abja	86 5	88 2	88 5	91 6	95 2	99 5
Net domestic capital formation	in crores of Rs	416	524	589	672	659	719
Net domestic capital formation as percentage of national income		5 2	5 8	6 2	6 7	6 7	6 8

Agricultural production: (Figures for Agricultural year ending in June)		1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Eastern Economist Indices of Agricultural Production	1936-37 to 1938-39 = 100	100	95	100	94	95	105	120	121
Rice Production in India	Million tons	21 25	22 60	23 17	20 25	20 96	22 54	27 56	24 21
Wheat production in India	Million tons	5 57	5 65	6 29	6 36	6 09	7 38	7 79	8 54
Tobacco production in India	000 tons	234	255	264	257	206	241	256	238
Tea production in India*	in million lbs	561 6	568 8	585 6	613 2	628 8	614 4	608 4	642 0
Cotton production in India	Lakh bales	21 88	17 67	26 28	29 10	31 33	31 94	39 35	42 98
Jute production in India	Lakh bales	20 73	30 89	32 83	46 78	45 92	31 28	31 53	

Industrial production & Power (Figures for Calendar years)		1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Interim Index of Industrial Production—General Index	Base 1946 = 100	97 2	108 4	105 7	105 0	117 2	128 9	135 3	146 6	158 0
Coal raisings	million tons	30 0	29 8	31 5	32 0	34 3	36 2	35 8	36 8	38 4
Sugar production (sugar year)	in lakh tons	9 0	10 8	10 0	9 8	11 1	14 9	12 9	10 1	15 8
Cotton yarn production	in million lbs	1296	1456	1330	1157	1295	1447	1504	1565	1603
Cotton cloth production	in million yards	3 762	4 442	3 805	3 614	4 190	4 594	4 906	5 062	5 050
Jute manufactures	in thousand tons	1 051	1 086	923	836	875	952	869	928	1 015
Paper & Paper boards	in thousand cwts	1 862	1 958	2 064	2 178	2 639	2 732	2 796	3 106	3 060
Cement production	in thousand tons	1 447	1 553	2 102	2 612	3 076	3 538	3 780	4 408	4 259
Finished steel	in thousand tons	893	857	930	1 004	1 076	1 103	1 024	1 243	1 280
Sewing machines	in thousands (nos	5 9	20 0	25 0	30 9	44 5	50 0	62 4	80 2	93 0
Bicycles	in thousands nos	31 9	55 5	64 4	103 2	114 3	197 0	264 2	372 4	443 7
Electric fans	in thousands (nos)	159 6	180 0	178 8	193 2	212 4	195 6	199 2	238 8	300 2
Electric lamps	in lakhs (nos)	76 2	92 5	136 4	143 0	155 2	212 8	197 6	230 8	243 2
Diesel engines	in thousands(nos	0 7	1 0	2 1	4 6	7 2	4 2	3 7	8 7	10 2
*Electricity Generated	million kwt	4073	4576	4909	5107	5858	6120	6628	7440	8220

* Estimated

3 Fibres:

Partition greatly disturbed the cotton economy of the country In 1947-48 we had to import 13 47 lakh bales of raw cotton The terrible shortage of food grains which followed close upon the heels of Partition obliged the country to divert a part of the acreage under cotton to food crops and this further aggravated the already difficult cotton situation

The indigenous producers, however, met the challenge, and within a short period of eight years or rather since 1952-53 when restrictions on acreage under cotton were abolished, the production of raw cotton in this country doubled itself In 1948-49 the production was 17 67 lakh bales, while the provisional figures for 1954-55 indicate an yield of 42 98 lakh bales Indeed, in so far as medium and short staple cotton are concerned, India is fully self sufficient In long staple variety, however, we are badly deficient, and this imposes a minimum strain of about Rs 40 crores per annum on our hard-earned foreign exchange resources There is, however, no possibility of growing all the varieties of long staple *cotton in our own country in the near future, though we are told that cotton of* $1\frac{3}{16}''$ *to* $1\frac{1}{4}''$ *staple* can be grown inside the country In 1947-48 Indian production of long staple cotton (7/8" and above) stood at 3 31 lakh bales while this figure jumped to 13 65 lakh bales in 1953-54

Jute:

In 1948 our production of raw jute was nearly 2 million bales Since all the mills were in India while a high percentage of jute consumed by the Indian mills came from Pakistan, an acute shortage was felt and our jute industry was virtually at the mercy of Pakistan Immediate steps were taken to enhance our jute output with the result that in 1951 and 1952 our production ruled near about 4 6 million bales, an increase of more than 100 per cent In 1953 and 1954, however, there was a setback to jute output The fall was nearly 30 per cent from the level of 1951 and 1952 This fall was a reaction to the decline of the post Korean boom and the steep fall in jute prices Production at 3 1 million bales in 1954 was still 50 per cent above our 1948 output

The Revolution in Agriculture:

The broad conclusion of this discussion is that India's food production has risen to a level from where there is no fear of going back to 1950 51 level Food imports have already declined significantly making it possible for this country to spend valuable foreign exchange on imports of machinery A new assessment of our agricultural capacity is slowly winning recognition Perhaps this is best set out in terms of the first detailed statement of the elements of this change "Without any Herculean effort", says "The Eastern Economist," "the floor of Indian agriculture has been rising at a rate between 3 and 3½ per cent since 1952

" The argument that the floor of Indian agriculture has risen by over 3 per cent per year in the last few years can be presented in many ways For this purpose a very long period study is not relevent A long cycle which may be fifteen years containing three short cycles would be sufficient to provide a norm for fluctuations due to the monsoons If the period 1936 to 1952 is taken as a cycle including the three short-period cycles of five years each, one may conclude, on the basis of "The Eastern Economist" Index of Agricultural Production that the fluctuation between the best and worst years of a cycle of fifteen years is about 12 per cent. If the last short-period cycle of five years, that is, 1948-49 to 1954-55 is then taken, and discount of 12 per cent for monsoon variations made, there is a net rise of about 15 per cent in five years as a residue This might be interpreted as an average rise of a floor of 3 per cent per year. Seeing that until 1952-53 the rise was of significantly lower order, one might claim that the floor must have risen after 1952 at an appreciably higher rate, possibly over 4 per cent Another way of presenting similar argument would be to place 1954-55 in its appropriate seasonal bracket against 1953-54 If we assume that the year 1954-55 stands midway between a normal year and the miraculous year 1953-54, this would imply that, other things

Foreign Trade & Balances‡

(figures for Calendar years)		1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Exports, including re-exports, C I F	Rs crores	403 19	422 82	485 20	586 88	715 56	556 78	523 20	577 76
Imports, F O B	"	398 62	518 00	560 51	565 46	862 85	632 95	549 12	610 60
Balance of trade	"	+4 57	—95 18	—75 31	+21 42	-147 29	—76 17	—25 92	—32 84
Balance of payments	"		—8 9	—70 3	—27 1	—57 4	+1 7	+58 7	+3 7

Currency & Finance‡

(Figures for financial years)		1947 48	1948-49	1949-50	1950 51	1951-52	1952 53	1953 54	1954 55
Demand deposits of scheduled banks	Rs crores	706 7	674 6	597 8	599 1	593 7	546 2	526 7	559 6
Time deposits of scheduled banks	"	343 9	303 9	272 6	278 5	290 8	309 3	328 3	351 9
Total deposits of scheduled banks	"	1050 5	978 4	870 4	877 6	884 6	855 5	855 0	911 5
Notes in circulation	"	1227 8	1231 8	11[illegible]8 9	1163 2	1189 8	1114 8	1134 0	1196 2
Money supply*	"	2236 7	—	1865 3	2005 9	18[illegible]8 9	1784 6	1856 6	1980 9
Bills discounted by scheduled banks		16 8	16 4	15 4	11 9	22 8	38 5	51 4	84 7
Advances made by scheduled banks		427 5	424 9	426 7	447 0	523 6	461 6	442 8	468 4

Prices & Wages

(Figures for calender years)	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
All India working class cost of living Index numbers 1944=100	120	134	138	138	144	141	145	138
All India wholesale price Index numbers Year ended August, 1939=100*	308 2	376 2	385 4	409 7	434 6	380 6	39 5	377 4
Variable dividend Industrial Securities Price Index numbers Base 1948=100	138	100	76	78	85	72	69	82
Index numbers of real earnings of Industrial Workers in India Base 1944=100	104 4	112 2	122 0	119 9	122 6	135 3	146 4	—
Index numbers of profits in Industries Base 1939=100	191 6	259 9	181 5	246 6	310 5	190 6	256 9	—

*Includes Hali Sicca currency since 1950-51

being equal production in 1954 55 would have run about 3 per cent below that of 1953 54 In point of fact it has run 1 per cent above 1953 54 In other words the floor between 1953 54 and 1954 55 was rising at about 4 per cent per year

A *third method of estimating movements in the floor of Indian agriculture* is a detailed evaluation of the dynamic elements which have gone into Indian agriculture in recent years First there is the Japanese method of rice cultivation which in certain official quarters is assumed in the year 1954 55 to have contributed 900 000 tons of additional rice over an area of 1 2 million acres Similarly there is an estimate of the character of output following on additional fertilizers Here one might assume an increase of output of possibly 1 million tons though this is not available on food crops alone It might be mentioned that recent estimates of the character of chemical fertilizer increases in Indian agriculture suggest that over the long period say the next twentyfive years fertilizers might be the most dynamic component of increased output In one estimate of expected increases by 1980 fertilizers will provide half of the increase and irrigation and all other improvements the other half between them There is moreover indication that at the rate at which the use of fertilizers is now rising the floor of Indian agriculture will rise at a higher rate than it has done in the last three years Again if account is taken of minor irrigation works and the enhanced investment which is going into private well construction one might conceivably assume that increments of output from wells will over the next few years run at 50 per cent above their current contribution All the dynamic components taken together appear to have already contributed 60 per cent to the current output

These estimates of the monsoon and non monsoon factors suggest that there is strong evidence for the theory that Indian agriculture after 1952 has struck out on an entirely new path It is not only that the floor which has over many decades been rising at a rate of less than 1 per cent has suddenly moved up between 3 and 3½ per cent the point is also that the rate of growth is being accelerated The floor of Indian agriculture cannot under ordinary circumstances in the next five years rise at a rate of less than 4 per cent per annum

INDUSTRIAL POLICY 1948 TO 1955

In 1948 the Government of India made a statement on Industrial Policy which theoretically has held the field until the present time This policy was designed to keep certain important industries namely munitions atomic energy railroad transport and in an emergency any industry vital to national defence in the public sector leaving the private sector free in other fields In point of fact the actual working of the policy *has admitted a large degree of freedom to the public sector industries and comparatively less freedom* at least until 1952 to the private sector' ones The principles on which interference was designed were believed to be related to planning and the necessity of maintaining orderly development when supply and demand were out of relation with one another

It is difficult to view the record as a whole as a fulfilment of the Industrial Policy Statement and in point of fact it can be maintained that Indian policy has not been based on any major principles but has been pragmatic suited to the circumstances in each of the last seven years It can also be argued with much evidence that since 1952 it has been markedly successful

The official Interim Index of industrial production for every month from January 1949 to the latest available figure for June 1955 is set out in the table below Since 1951 there has been no month in any year in which the Interim Index has fallen below the corresponding figure for the preceding year In other words industrial production in India has been steadily and uniformly rising (Till 1950 industrial output had been maintained at a level five to eight per cent higher than the 1946 base year) During the five year period 1950 54, industrial production advanced by more than 40 per cent *i e* at a rate of more than 8 per cent per year An all time peak of 167 2 was registered in April 1955

Shipping & Transports:

*Financial years		1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Shipping entered with cargoes	Mill. in tons	12.0*	16.6	15.7	18.9	13.3	13.8	13.8	
Shipping cleared		11.4*	14.2	15.1	16.9	18.8	21.1	20.2	
Rly. wagons loaded	Nos. in Million	5.5	6.2	6.3	6.8	7.0	6.8	7.2	
Rly. tonnage lifted	Net ton miles in 000 Millions	22.3	25.0	26.7	28.0	28.5	29.4		
National shipping capacity	in 000 g.r.t.	333	365	367	384	423	435	473	

Labour & Employment:

(Figures for calender years)	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Registrations with Employment Exchanges Nos. '000 at the end of the period	239	274	331	329	438	522	610	666*
Placings through Employment Exchanges Nos. '000	60	257	331	417	358	185	162	98*
Total employment in Factories subject to Factories Act average daily number '000	2360	2434	2504	2537	2567	2578	2492†	
Man-days lost due to Industrial disputes Nos. '000	7837	6601	12807	3818	3337	3383	3373	
Number of stoppages caused due to industrial disputes Nos. '000	1.3	0.9	0.8	1.1	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.2§

*April to December
*July 1955
†First half
§Estimated

The pattern of the rise is illustrated in the diagram on page 184 which presents the 'spectrum" of Indian industrial production

These figures impressive enough as they are by themselves, must be considered a prelude to the greater developments in industrialisation which are now being planned India's First Five Year Plan was predominantly a Plan for agriculture and communications Its industrial opening was designed largely for the utilisation of existing capacity, a task which has been fulfilled with a larger measure of success than could possibly have been anticipated In the Second Five Year Plan which is to commence from April 1956 the position is different Industry moves into a central place in the Plan with heavy industry, particularly in steel and cement being developed at what in Indian conditions, must be considered phenomenal rates Against current production of finished steel of about 1 2 million tons, the target for 1961 will be 4 5 million tons Similarly for cement while current production is less than 5 million tons, the planned production for 1961 is 10 million tons The significance of these figures is great not only for industrial production but for many items of welfare which industrial production connotes Housing, for example, held back both for shortages of steel and cement over many years, will be allowed significant free-play

Hitherto the impulses in agriculture and industry have been treated separately This is apt to create the impression that they are operating under separate and not under inter related forces This is not, of course the case The great strength of both sectors arises from the fact that not only are their internal pro ductivities increasing but also there are opportunities that arise from the demand which the other sector places upon it Thus there has been a significant increase in the demand in urban areas for foodgrains and for raw cotton and jute by industry Conversely there has been considerable demand for cloth from rural areas Indian agriculture and Indian industry are supporting and sustaining each other

Again in respect of raw cotton the volume of additional cotton bought by the mills is shown in the table below If one assumes that this cotton would otherwise have had to be imported, the total saving of the industry would be of the order of Rs 80 crores

Cotton Consumption by Mills in '000 Bales

	Indian	*Foreign*	*Total*
1950	2 568	1,152	3 720
1951	2,496	1 152	3 648
1952	2,940	1,140	4,080
1953	3,612	876	4,488
1954	3,948	720	4 668

Per contra since 1951 rural consumers have benefited in two ways from demand or supplies of Indian industries So far as rural producers and Indian consumers are concerned, in the demand for raw cotton, jute and sugarcane there have been marked fluctuations Nevertheless, it may be said that the demand for all raw materials in industry has been lifted to a substantially higher plane At the same time the prices of manufac tured goods have for the most part declined steeply since their peak in 1951 The case of cloth is a specific illustration of the benefit that has been returned to the agriculturists by the supply of added quantities of cot- ton and at a low price Practically the whole of the reduction in the price over the period had been trans lated into the price of cloth

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

(Monthly Average of Calendar Months)

ITEM	UNITS	Latest July 55	A Year Ago July 54	1948	1951	1952	1953	1954
Coal	Th Tons	2 956	2 966	2 485	2 859	3 019	2 987	3 064
Vegetable Oil Products	Tons	24 020*	16 747	10 808	14 360	15 901	15 971	13 229
Cigarettes	Lakhs	18 270*	18 431	18 187	17 874	16 766	15 353	16 523
Cotton Yarn	Lakhs lbs	1 440	1 357	1 206	1 087	1 208	1 255	1 301
Cotton Cloth	Lakhs Yds	4 460	4 335	3 599	3 397	3 832	4 065	4 165
Jute	Th tons	84.1	80.7	90.7	72.9	73.3	72.4	77.3
Footwear (Leather)	Th Pairs	287.2	272.3	266.8	303.4	280.6	273.0	272.3
Footwear (Rubber)	Lakhs Pairs	26.4	34.3	15.6	13.2	19.0	20.0	26.0
Plywood	Th Sq Ft	9 114*	5 808	4 478	5 904	7 545	5 100	6 481
Paper and Paper Boards	Tons	15 081*	13 350	8 159	10 393	11 453	11 642	12 944
Tanned Hides	Ths	173.0	145.7	253.8	215.3	177.4	166.6	169.9
Automobile Tyres		76.9	68.1	64.2	72.5	60.1	64.0	63.4
Cycle Tyres		484.8	449.3	280.8	328.4	313.1	387.1	435.5
Automobile Tubes		71.7	64.7	62.5	68.4	55.1	54.9	62.4
Automobiles	Nos	1 865	996		1 856	1 274	1 160	1 205
Bicycles		42 810*	31 546	4 621	9 523	16 413	22 014	31 030
Sulphuric Acid	Tons	10 793*	13 319	6 667	8 911	8 007	9 091	12 573
Caustic Soda		2 806*	2 337	365	1 227	1 422	1 909	2 442
Soda Ash		7 193	3 132	2 429	3 561	3 694	4 739	4 024
Ammonium Sulphate		23 797*	26 691	2 934	4 392	18 359	26 635	28 352
Paints and Varnishes		2 671	3 102	2 977	2 790	2 681	2 671	3 068
Matches	Th Cases	50.1*	44.6	44.4	48.2	51.6	51.5	44.1
Soap	Tons	8 796*	7 861	6 300	6 953	7 198	6 850	7 333
Rayon		438	373		170	299	363	669
Cement	Th Tons	329.5*	355.1	129.4	266.3	294.8	315.0	366.5
Pig Iron		148.2	146.0	117.1	142.4	140.4	137.9	149.4
Semi finished Steel		117.5*	122.5	84.3	104.1	109.0	102.5	121.0
Finished Steel		103.7*	102.9	71.4	89.7	91.9	85.3	103.6
Aluminium	Tons	610.8	438.6	280.1	320.7	297.2	313.2	407.2
Copper		620.0	623.0	488.7	530.3	506.6	410.0	596.8
Lead		174.1*	150.0	52.1	71.6	94.3	141.7	149.0
Diesel Engines	Nos	795*	704	85	604	354	310	721
Power Driven Pumps	Ths	3.0*	2.3	0.7	4.0	2.7	2.1	2.4
Sewing Machines	Nos	8 536	7 105	1 668	3 705	4 410	5 202	6 683
Machine Tools	Th Rs	718.2*	551.1	456.1	334.2	369.8	367.3	416.9
Dry Cells	Lakhs	144.4	144.8	103.2	119.5	108.5	123.7	123.9
Storage Batteries	Ths	18.7	18.0	9.2	17.7	13.2	14.7	15.7
Electric Motors	Th H P	16.8	17.6	5.0	11.9	13.1	13.5	15.9
Power Transformers	Th KVA	46.6	39.4	6.8	16.3	17.9	25.7	33.3
Electric Lamps	Ths	2 246.0	2 076.5	771	1 293	1 740	1 647	1 923
Electric Fans		25.5*	23.5	15.0	17.7	16.3	16.6	19.9
Radio Receivers	Nos	7 282*	5 592	2 083	6 899	5 958	4 689	4 717
House Service Meters		23 858*	11 771			2 863	6 723	12 407
Domestic Refrigerators		50	118			50	95	84
Power Alcohol	Th Bulk Gall	807.7	460.5	314.7	484.1	645.2	676.7	667.3
Industrial Alcohol		212.1*	246.1	116.8	163.9	181.5	207.8	236.3
Hurricane Lanterns	Ths	497.0*	516.7	81.6	331.4	293.6	359.4	415.6
Enamel Ware	Th Pieces	1 014.3*	1 134.7	563.6	677.5	640.9	790.3	1 248.1

Source **Ministry of Commerce and Industry**

* Figures are for June 1955 The corresponding figures in the next column are for July 1954

Interim Index of Industrial Production for certain selected items
Base: 1946=100

	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955*
General Index	97 2	108 4	105 7	105 0	117 2	128 9	135 3	146 6	158 2
Coal	103 9	103 2	108 9	110 8	118 8	125 4	124 1	127 3	132 0
Sugar	97 6	116 5	108 5	105 8	120 8	161 9	139 9	109 2	171 0
Cement	93 9	100 7	136 3	169 5	207 2	229 3	245 1	285 1	291 0
Paper and paper board	87 8	92 4	97 4	102 7	124 4	129 7	131 8	146 5	170 0
Cotton yarn	94 8	105 9	99 4	85 9	95 4	106 0	110 1	114 2	115 0
Cotton cloth	96 2	110 5	99 9	93 8	104 3	117 7	124 8	127 9	128 6
Jute	96 6	100 2	84 8	76 8	80 4	87 4	79 8	85 2	94 0
Chemicals	102 7	158 5	194 3	229 0	260 2	388 8	517 7	622 4	662 0
Iron and Steel	97 1	97 1	104 6	111 2	116 0	122 0	116 5	130 2	134 0
Engineering	95 2	136 5	167 2	203 1	265 7	233 0	258 7	319 3	374 0

The Interim Index of Industrial Production
Base: 1946=100

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
January	104 1	100 2	111 4	123 4	131 1	133 2	150 9
February	112 8	109 1	117 7	129 0	135 9	141 6	158 7
March	106 6	107 0	111 6	125 5	131 1	138 1	163 2
April	114 8	100 8	117 5	131 7	140 6	145 6	167 2
May	105 6	104 5	117 7	126 8	132 8	140 3	152 2
June	105 8	108 1	116 7	121 6	133 2	146 0	157 3
July	98 7	106 5	114 4	128 9	136 3	150 5	159 1
August	102 7	102 8	120 4	126 7	131 0	147 4	155 9
September	105 2	100 3	118 3	129 1	137 3	152 5	
October	95 7	97 9	119 9	127 6	133 5	141 6	
November	107 8	112 5	123 7	134 6	134 5	160 7	
December	115 5	113 2	128 2	138 6	144 7	165 8	
Annual Average	105 7	105 0	117 2	128 9	135 3	146 6	

*Estimated

THE TERTIARY SECTOR

The developments in the primary and secondary sectors which have been described have naturally carried over to the tertiary sector, which includes all Services and, in particular, Communications There has been a marked development of transport in these years particularly in civil aviation and the larger carriage of passengers and freight by the railways The figures below will give some indication of the developments under these heads Transport remains a serious bottleneck not because there has been no development but because of the remarkable increases in production which now place heavy demands on all forms of transport.

Inland Transport—Railways (Monthly average)

Year	*Freight traffic & earnings*		*Passengers traffic & earnings*	
	Net ton miles (in Millions)	*Earnings from goods carried (Rs Lakhs)*	*Passenger miles (in Millions)*	*Earnings from passengers carried (Rs Lakhs)*
1948	1,859	9,02	3,060	7,31
1949	2,085	10,95	3,168	7 50
1950	2,225	11,42	3,353	7,96
1951	2,336	12,42	3,187	8 90
1952	2,372	11,79	2,859	8,11
1953	2,447	12,11	2,935	8,18
1954*	2,459	12,15	3,056	8,41

Civil Aviation—Internal and International Services (Monthly Average)

	Miles flown (000)	*Passenger miles carried* (000)	*Freight ton miles carried* (000)	*Total load ton miles* (000)
1948	1,054	15,056	186	1,652
1949	1,258	16,293	311	1,989
1950	1,575	20,005	852	2,937
1951	1,625	22,055	1,061	3,330
1952	1,630	20,906	1,006	3,214
1953	1 600	20,911	997	3,216
1954	1,650	23,907	1,049	3,574

* Average of 10 months

FINANCIAL POLICY:

Something should be said on the financial policy of the Government of India and on the character of the banking and financial elements of the private sector The record, read as a whole, is one which can give great satisfaction The history of prices over the last seven years is shown in the tables below which give figures for the index of wholesale prices and the cost of living in important areas in the country There were times when, as the tables will show, large inflationary pressure displayed itself with relatively little capacity for control, but over the whole period and largely in the last three years the record has been one of *which the country might well be proud*

The components of this remarkable stabilization of prices are difficult to enumerate It is likely that by far the most important component was increased production which cushioned the additional flows of money supply which have been injected into the system with increased deficit financing required by additional development expenditure Secondly, there has been a rise in capital formation which is estimated now to impound something like 15 per cent of additional income produced Thirdly, there has been a rise in deposits in banks particularly in the years 1954 and 1955 and in government loans which have protected the economy from excesses of liquid money It is likely that all these components will continue to operate in the next *Five-Year Plan*

Alongside the marked control in internal finance must be set India's remarkable achievement on her international account Contrary to the predictions that India would run a large unfavourable balance of payments in the last three years of her Plan, the accounts for these years have been balanced and have even permitted repayment of a substantial portion of a loan to the International Monetary Fund and the building up of India s sterling balances since 1952 Here it would appear that the prospects are not likely to be as good in the Second Five-Year Plan, which will necessarily be accompanied by a much heavier import programme

Wholesale Prices (All India)

Base. Year ended August 1939=100

	Food Articles	*Industrial Raw Materials*	*Semi-Manufactured Articles*	*Manufactured Articles*	*General Index*
1948	374 1	430 5	316 6	340 6	367 1
1949	389 2	463 9	328 1	343 9	381 1
1950	410 4	503 2	340 9	348 4	400 7
1951	409 8	608 2	377 5	395 5	439 3
1952	359 8	453 8	346 5	377 5	386 9
1953	380 8	459 7	356 3	367 0	393 9
1954	358·3	447 1	355 4	375 5	386 7
1955*	317 5	404 2	326 3	371 2	357 3

August.

Working Class Cost of Living Index Numbers

(Monthly Averages)

Base.	Bombay June, 1934	Madras June, 1936	Kanpur Aug., 1939	Delhi Aug., 1939	Nagpur Aug., 1939	Calcutta Aug., 1939	All India 1949
1948	303	309	471	344	372	339	97
1949	307	323	478	344	377	348	100
1950	313	325	434	344	372	349	101
1951	330	334	451	370	391	370	105
1952	337	330	441	373	380	351	103
1953	363	351	453	366	387	349	106
1954	359	341	408	360	372	327	101
1955*	340	316	371	336	364	325	—

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, perhaps, one should draw attention to the state of public confidence in India's economic policy. Fears that a sudden spate of legislation—such as that included in the amendments to the Constitution and the Indian Companies Bill—and of increased taxation in the budget for 1954-55 would greatly depress business confidence have not materialised. It may be that this is because the shocks were absorbed by a significant rise in production; again, both profits and sales have been comparatively easy in the last few years. In the last analysis a business man accepts the trends of events before fears in the minds of theorists. In theory, Indian policy has been bad for private enterprise. In fact both actual profits and order books have been full. The socialist pattern of society seems thus to have lost some of the terrors which it had early in 1955.

It is right that there should be appreciation both of India's economic achievements and the broad sense of realism which has tended to operate in the working of policies. It is not, however, that the dangers of excessive legislation should be ignored. After the Industrial Policy Statement of 1948, there was, as should now be clear, excessive reliance on controls as a means of obtaining fair distribution of goods in short supply. In fact, the era of de-control, partly because it has been accompanied by rising production, has been more merciful to the poor. This suggests that for a country intent as much upon raising the standard of living as upon social justice, there can be a hindrance if there is excessive interference with the market economy. On the other hand, advocates of what is called free enterprise should recognise what has been an undoubted fact that moderate interference by the Government of India has not detracted either from production or short-period incentives.

Indian economic achievements in the last three years provide, as has already been stated, a questioning of the postulates of under developed economies. There is something to be said for claiming that Indian politico economic policy is a denial of current business pessimism. Free enterprise is not necessarily the only solvent of the problem of production. India's mixed economy has shown that it can do as well as almost any country in the world under similar conditions.

* July

Complacency on both grounds, namely, performance and operation of certain tenets of economic policy, should not enter our minds because of our success This is partly because the period of study is short, and partly because the challenge of the Second Five-Year Plan which commences in April, 1956, will be more searching than anything we have already overcome If complacency, however, is out of place, so is pessimism The Indian Ship of State is riding well The Captain on the bridge has the over-whelming support of the Indian people , by and large the seas are also calm and friendly Storms may arise , but this ship will come safely into port

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE

AN assessment has been made in this article of the industrial development in India since independence It has been divided into four sections The first section deals with the industrial policy of the Government of India and how it has been undergoing gradual change during these years

The second section deals with the production trends in various industries and measures their growth in terms of output It reveals that there has been a significant all round rise in industrial production and the targets set out in the First Plan in respect of cotton cloth sugar plywood and power transformers have been exceeded

The next section examines the part played by foreign investments in India's industrial development The survey of India s foreign liabilities and assets conducted by Reserve Bank of India discloses that contrary to the popular belief that foreign investments in India are declining since independence, there has been, on the other hand, an increase of nearly 45 per cent in the foreign investments in India during the five-year period from 1948 to 1953

The fourth and the last section examines the claims of both public and private sectors to production responsibilities by comparing the working of the two sectors A close scrutiny of the figures of profits and losses of the new State undertakings of the Government of India reveals that the Government has failed in the efficient management of these undertakings

Industrial Policy

The Industrial Policy Statement of the Government of India in April 1948 ushered in a new era of industrial development in the economic history of India It set at rest the doubts and misgivings regarding the future roles of public and private enterprise in the industrial field The statement while recognising that the primary objective of the Government was to secure an equitable distribution of wealth, pointed out the greater need of stepping up of production particularly of capital goods and of essential consumers goods and the commodities the export of which will

increase foreign exchange resources To this end the policy statement demarcated the respective spheres of public and private enterprise and accepted the principle of mixed economy

The statement divided the industries into four broad categories The industries which were to be the sole monopoly of the State were enumerated to be those of manufacturing arms and ammunition, railway transport, and production and control of atomic energy Industries producing coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacture, ship building, manufacture of telephones, telegraph and wireless apparatus excluding radio receiving sets, and mineral oils were placed on the concurrent list and it was decided that the State should be exclusively responsible for the establishment of the new undertakings while private enterprise would be left free to develop the existing units for a period of ten years During the ten year period, the Government agreed to give all necessary facilities to the existing private enterprise for efficient working and for reasonable expansion At the end of ten year period the situation would be reviewed and if then it was decided to acquire any of these units due compensation would be paid on fair and equitable basis

The third industrial sector which comprised industries producing salt, automobiles and tractors, prime movers electric engineering, other heavy machinery, machine tools, heavy chemicals, fertilizers, pharmaceuticals and drugs, electro chemicals industries, non ferrous metals, rubber manufactures, power and industrial alcohol, cotton and woollen textiles, cement, sugar, paper and newsprint, air and sea transport minerals and industries related to defence, although left to private enterprise, were made subject to central control and regulation The rest of the industrial field was left entirely to private enterprise although here also the Government declared its policy to progressively participate in certain industries, *e g*, in the mass production of fertilizers, manufacture of essential drugs and synthetic oil from coal

The policy statement was a signal for rapid industrial progress and during these eight years the industrial advancement which has taken place in India bears ample testimony to the wisdom and success of the industrial policy Recently, however, during the A I C C debates at Ajmer in July 1954, attempts were made to modify and effect changes in the industrial policy of the Government of India by those who swear by nationalisation But the Prime Minister stood with the declared policy and stated that resources in the country being limited, they should be utilised in building new State undertakings and not in nationalising existing industries

The year 1955, however, started with certain misgivings and doubts with the nationalisation of Imperial Bank of India and the publication of the plan frame The tentative frame work of the Second Five Year Plan has been based on the goal of a socialistic pattern of society This has raised doubts in the minds of businessmen as to what this socialistic pattern of society precisely stands for ? How far is it going to encroach upon private initiative which has shown, during the First Plan period, its remarkable strength and capacity for industrial recovery and advancement ? If the socialistic pattern of society simply implies State ownership or control ' of the strategic means of production and rapid development of basic industries provision of certain necessities of life irrespective of the ability to purchase them, *viz*, free education and medical facilities, fuller employment opportunities and provision for labour to economic security and fair wages, *there is not much which is to be feared But if it goes farther than that and implies* a programme of nationalisation and curbing of incentives to private enterprise, it shall be treated as a negation of the industrial policy statement of April 1948 to which the Government of India still stands committed

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

The significant all round rise in the industrial output in India during the eight year period since independence bears ample testimony to the ability of the Indian enterprise for its remarkable capacity for *expansion and growth The pattern of industrial development is best measured in terms of the official*

interim index of Indian industrial production which stood at 158 (provisional) in 1955 as against the base 1946=100 The current level of output is thus nearly 60 per cent above the 1947 level Who could have imagined at the dawn of independence that India would be able to enhance its industrial production by more than 60 per cent in about eight years at a rate of nearly 7 5 per cent per annum ? The targets set out in the First Plan in respect of cotton cloth, sugar, plywood and power transformers have been exceeded , and other major industries such as cement, ammonium sulphate, bicycles, sewing machines and several light engineering industries have shown marked progress

Until 1950 there was virtual stagnation in industrial production due to various troubles which the *economy inherited because of the partition of the country Political as well as economic factors operated* against industrial growth From 1951 onwards, however, the industrial sector recorded an upward movement in its output, raising the rate of increase to more than 10 per cent per annum

Factors which contributed to the uptrend were significant investments in the industrial sector, greater availability of raw materials, better export off takes, fuller utilization of existing installed capacity and the establishment of new units and improvement in labour management relations

HEAVY INDUSTRY

During the eight year period heavy industries showed a gradual rise output of finished steel rose by 47 percent and that of cement and aluminium by 189 and 99 per cent respectively Still the output is short of the Plan target Measures to step up production have recently been taken Government has advanced a loan of Rs 10 crores to Tata Iron and Steel Company for expansion and modernisation which when carried out will increase production capacity of Tatas by half a million ton In the public sector the establishment of Steel Plant at Rourkela (Orissa) is far advanced and agreement between the Government of India and the U S S R has been reached for the establishment of another steel plant It is expected that by 1959 the output of finished steel in the country will step up from 1 3 million tons to 4 6 million tons , 2 4 million tons in the private sector and 2 2 million tons in the public sector

ESTIMATED STEEL PRODUCTION IN 1960

		Output per year (Million tons)
1	Tata Iron and Steel Company	1 5
2	Indian Iron and Steel Company	8
3	Mysore Iron and Steel Works	1
4	Rourkela Steel Plant	72
5	Bhilai Steel Plant	75
6	British Steel Plant	75
	Total	4 62

JUTE MANUFACTURES AND COTTON TEXTILES

Jute Industry was hard hit by partition when the vast areas producing raw jute went to Pakistan Of the total area of 2 4 million acres sown in undivided India only one fourth remained with India

	Area Sown (1000 acres)
1945	2,422
1947	652

Due to scarcity of raw materials the industry s output continued to decline till 1950 In 1951 it staged a recovery and since then the output has shown a steady rise and has now almost reached the pre partition level

JUTE MANUFACTURES

Year	Output (1000 tons)
1950	835
1951	875
1952	952
1953	869
1954	928
1955 (estimated)	1,015

Supplies of cotton textiles have markedly improved The plan target of 4,700 million yards of cloth has been exceeded by over 300 million yards and if existing uptrend continues, unfettered by political considerations, the production may soon exceed the second plan target of 6200 million yards Factors responsible for this remarkable achievement were better supplies of raw cotton and larger off-takes at home and abroad

EXPORTS OF COTTON PIECE-GOODS

	(Million yards)
1951-52	424
1952-53	616
1953-54	767
1954 55	814

LIGHT ENGINEERING INDUSTRIES AND CHEMICALS

With the exception of machine tools, all round significant progress was registered by light engineering industries The interim index of production stood at 376 3 (provisional) in 1955 as compared with 95 2 in 1947 Output of diesel engines increased to nearly ten times while production of electric motors exceeded the installed capacity of the industry Plan target was exceeded in respect of power transformers whose supply in the country increased to nearly six times

Industry	Unit	Output		Installed Capacity	Plan Target
		1948	1955 (Provisional)		
Power Transformers	'000 K V A	82	467	378	450
Electric Motors	'000 H P	60	225	200	—
Diesel Engines	Numbers	1020	9,866	—	—

Among the chemicals, production of Caustic Soda, Chlorine Liquid, Superphosphates and Ammonium Sulphate showed marked progress The most significant rises were registered by Ammonium Sulphate and Superphosphates, the supplies of the former increased nearly ten times and of the latter nearly eight times since independence Of the rest output of Chlorine Liquid increased from 1,800 tons to 10,500 tons and of Superphosphates from 21,400 tons to 83,100 tons The progress in the Chemicals industry as a whole was also remarkably promising , the interim index of production stood at 622 4 in 1955 as compared with the base year 1946 = 100 and 1947 = 102 7

CONSUMERS GOODS INDUSTRIES

Industries producing consumers goods registered remarkable rises The annual production of bicycles in the country increased from a mere 55,000 to 4 5 lakhs and of sewing machines from 20,000 to 96,000 The home supplies of electric lamps and electric fans rose from 92 lakhs and 1 8 lakhs to 248 lakhs and 2 8 lakhs respectively Production of hurricane lanterns was nearly five times in 1955 as compared with 1948 This increased home supply of consumers goods has reflected in declining prices of manufactured goods, thus benefiting the Indian consumer.

INDEX NUMBER OF WHOLESALE PRICES FOR MANUFACTURED ARTICLES

	(Base year August 1939 = 100)
1951 52	401 5
1952 53	371 2
1953 54	367 4
1954 55	368 8

OTHER INDUSTRIES

The performances of the remaining industries have also been promising Output in sugar and plywood has exceeded the plan targets Due to higher prices of Gur the production of Sugar was declining till 1954 But in 1955 it staged a recovery and output in 1955 is estimated to be as high as 1 6 million tons, nearly a lakh tons higher than the plan target Factors which contributed to this all time record were a bumper cane crop in 1955 and recession in Gur prices which resulted in large diversions of Sugar cane from Gur to Sugar manufacture Production of matches and paper and paperboards also showed considerable progress and the output of paper and paperboards has almost reached the installed capacity of the industry

Industry	Unit	Output		Installed Capacity	Plan target
		1948	1955		
Sugar	Million tons	1 1	1 6	1 4	1 5
Ply wood	Million sq ft	54	114	—	100
Paper and Paper Boards	000 tons	98	179	186	—
Matches	000 cases	533	612	—	—

This brief study of the production trends reveals that the Industrial economy has gained considerable strength since independence and the country is well on its way to self sufficiency in textiles and various consumers goods and shows a great promise of rapid expansion in heavy industries The Government has taken a number of positive steps in this direction It has extended tariff protection to a number of nascent industries and has lately created the National Industrial Development Corporation to encourage balanced growth of industrial economy and to provide financial aid to deserving industries

FOREIGN INTEREST IN THE INDUSTRY

Soon after independence, the national sentiment demanded Indianisation of foreign enterprises in India But saner elements in political and business circles realised the impractibility of such demands in face of the country s desire for rapid industrial progress need for capital equipment and serious shortages of foodgrains and raw materials In the Industrial Policy Statement of April 1948, the Government of India clarified its attitude towards foreign capital It recognised the value and the need of both foreign equipment and foreign enterprise and indicated its willingness to afford facilities for both subject to the conditions that the major interest in the ownership and effective control of these industries should always be in Indian hands and that in all cases these undertakings should offer suitable facilities for training Indian personnel to eventually replace foreign technicians and experts The Government agreed to accord equal treatment to both Indian and foreign enterprises and to offer adequate facilities for remitting profits abroad It gave adequate guarantees of fair and equitable compensation in case of nationalisation at a later stage

The survey of India s foreign liabilities and assets conducted by Reserve Bank of India as on December 31, 1953 reveals that foreign investments in India in 1948 were of the order of Rs 288 crores which increased to as much as Rs 419 crores by 1953, *i e*, an increase of nearly 45 per cent within a period of five years The largest increase was in the manufacturing sector where the total foreign investments rose

from Rs 72 crores to Rs 136 crores Within the manufacturing sector, industries of cigarettes and tobacco, mineral oils and products, and electrical goods attracted the largest share of fresh investments, among themselves they apportioned more than half of the total fresh investments

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR

Industry	Foreign Investment (in crores of rupees) 1948	1953
Mineral Oils and Products	1 0	9 7
Sugar	1 3	3 2
Electric Goods	4 8	12 0
Matches	1 7	3 2
Cigarettes and Tobacco	6 2	25 6
Medicines and Pharmaceuticals	0 5	5 5
Iron and Steel Products	5 5	6 7
Other Industries	51 0	69 8
Total	72 0	135 7

THE BATTLE OF THE SECTORS

With the declaration of the Industrial Policy Statement of April 1948, it was hoped that the battle between the two sectors, public and private, will cease and both will work in unison for rapid economic development of the country The demarcation of the respective spheres of public and private enterprise and acceptance of the principle of mixed economy was expected to bring about lasting peace between the advocates of both The record of the performances of the private sector during the eight-year period since independence has fully demonstrated the competence of the private enterprise to cope with any desired programme of industrial development But since the acceptance of the principle of socialistic pattern of society by the Government as the desired goal, the battle royal has again started Under this new context, what should be the order of production responsibilities between the two sections ? Should economic efficiency and better management be the criteria or political expediency ?

A close scrutiny of the figures of profits and losses of new public undertakings of the Government of India excluding those whose profits are being pooled with the railway budget, reveals that in the year 1953, the latest year for which figures are available, the total losses were of the order of Rs 132 lakhs while total profits amounted to only Rs 121 lakhs With the exception of Sindhri Fertilizer Factory and Indian Telephone Industry where the Government has been able to earn some profits, the record of the new public enterprises has been disappointing The Government failed to manage properly the Indian Airlines Corporation where it gave a loss of as much as Rs 92 lakhs in 1953 The other notable public undertakings which showed considerable losses were Hindustan Shipyard and Hindustan Machine Tools, the former showed a loss of nearly Rs 19 lakhs and the latter of about Rs 8 lakhs

The conclusion is irresistible that in certain spheres, *viz*, in the spheres of producers' goods and consumers' goods industries, the private enterprise is more efficient than the public and the State should not enter into such spheres as could well be entrusted to private enterprise The task of the State should be to undertake projects which are beyond the capacity of private enterprise, *viz*, development of railways, hydro-electric power generation and distribution, and industries manufacturing arms and ammunition

ROLE OF BUSINESS HOUSES

THE *first locomotive which steamed* out of Victoria Terminus, Bombay, more than a century ago, was the harbinger of a new age of industrialisation in the economy of this country That Age was not slow in arriving Its march was so rapid and so revolutionary in the history of this country as in the West There was another outstanding feature of industrialisation everywhere Its foundations were laid, and its superstructure was also built, by the initiative, enterprise and sacrifices of private enterprise functioning in free economies To-day when we look at the prosperity which industry has brought in the standards of living at all levels, we are apt to overlook that this prosperity could never have been achieved without ordeals of failure and sacrifice braved with unflinching pressure and unfailing faith by private entrepreneurs

Historical antecedents have left their impress on the pattern of industry in this country Because of initiative and enterprise which it had developed in its homeland and undoubtedly because also of political patronage, British private enterprise took on itself the task of pioneering modern industry in this country But its first ventures were confined largely to the development of export industries—jute, plantations, mining and the like

Indian private enterprise which was denied all the benefits that flow from political freedom and was consequently working under severe inhibitions, inevitably took some time to appear on the scene The real period of its initial growth dates between 1880 and 1910—three decades of trial against odds It had to face a situation of acute competition from abroad and apathy of a foreign government at home But it stood all the trials in uninterrupted succession for well over a quarter of a century

Then came, after a long period of acid test, the surging wave of the movement of Swadeshi in 1906 A whole nation was shaken out of its lethargy and inertia to be awakended to an acute sense of throwing off its economic shackles How powerful was the motive force of Swadeshi can be illustrated with one simple example Tatas who went to the London money market to raise capital for their Iron and Steel project had to come back with empty hands The British investor had not an iota of faith in the capacity of Indian enterprise to make a success of this business venture But the spirit of Swadeshi fired the imagination and kindled the faith of thousands of Indians possessing but poor resources The entire capital of £1,630,000 was subscribed by 8,000 Indian investors in a matter of three weeks It is not in India alone that the spirit of Swadeshi has fostered the growth of industry While each nation disclaims the weapon of Swadeshi at the Conference table, it consciously allows its technique to masquerade under various clever devices

This is not the place to recount all the brave struggles waged by private business houses in building the structure of Indian industry in its multifarious aspects But it would be unfair not to make a passing reference to the shocks of nerve breaking set-backs which these business houses absorbed during the depression of the nineteen thirties The opportunities offered by the two World Wars and the boom that followed in their wake have been turned by them to fruitful use for nation building industrial enterprises From basic industries, like iron and steel, shipbuilding and aeroplane construction, automobiles and host of engineering enterprises to heavy chemicals as well as consumer industries ranging from cotton textiles to confectionery all owe their genesis to private enterprise in which Indian business houses had a predominant part to play

Today, India stands at the cross roads in having to make a choice of the shape of her future social and economic order Let not Parliament's commital to a socialistic pattern of society create, albeit unwillingly, an obsession with state owned economy Let us turn a leaf from the experience of industrialised countries like Britain not to opt blindly for nationalisation in each sphere This is an age of co-existence where we need a harmonious working of the public sector and the private sector as absolute agencies achieve assured progress It has become fashionable to decry and denounce the system of private enterprise as an engine of oppression and exploitation Our faith in the private enterprise to the extent that it has genuine potentialities to offer its share in building a progressive economy based on social justice stands in pressing need to be revived and sustained

It is proposed in this brief article to review the contribution of some of the representative Indian business houses to the growth of the country's economic life The selection of the business houses made here is only illustrative and implies no suggestions of any sort on the nature of the role which numerous other houses are playing in our national life

TATA SONS

In the galaxy of Indian Business Houses, Tatas take a pride of place by virtue of their pioneering enterprises, the comprehensive coverage of their industrial activities and the magnitude of the capital investment involved The restless spirit of young Jamsetji Nusserwanjee Tata, founder of the House of Tata (1887), would not remain content with the narrow limits of the family business, nor could the initial set-back received in the venture of setting up a bank act as a deterrent to it A plunge in an attractive contract connected with Napier's expedition to Abyssinia repaired the losses of family resources This again was nothing compared with the new vision and bold imagination which young Jamsetji acquired during his stay of four years in London—for business arising out of this contract Could his mother land not raise its economic stature by stabilising the solid foundation of industrial prosperity on modern lines?

Long hours of deep thinking led the founder of the House to three basic convictions (a) A country cannot aspire to rise from strength to strength in industry unless the base of an iron and steel industry was firmly laid (b) Progress in industrial growth cannot be sustained unless the native talent assimilates the latest advances in science and technology (c) In a country where coal reserves are concentrated principally in one region, remote areas possessing great industrial potential, like Bombay, could translate the potential into a concrete reality by developing proximate resources of cheap and plentiful electric power Tatas have given a physical shape to these three articles of faith by building up the iron and steel works at Jamshedpur, establishing the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, the "alma mater" of many of the country's great scientists and technicians, and by creating a major hydro-electric (to which is now to be added, the thermal) power system which has released Bombay from costly dependence on the supplies of Bihar coal

In the brief space available here, a broad reference may be made to the range and size of the industries fostered by the House of Tata Tata Sons Limited, who own Tata Industries Limited, operate the largest single group of industries in this country These industries have an aggregate capital investment of Rs 136 crores, with an annual output of goods and services valued at Rs 61 crores and provide employment to 116,600 persons Although the Empress Mills, Nagpur, (founded in 1877) was the first industrial venture of Tatas, the industrial history of the country has awarded the highest rank to their steel plant—The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited (founded in 1907) The company owns its own mines, quarries and collieries In 1954-55, its output of pig iron was 1 3 million tons, of steel ingots 1 5 million tons and of saleable steel 783,000 tons A 25-crore rupees plan of modernisation and expansion is under way and a recent agreement with the Government is estimated to enable it to undertake an additional programme of expansion worth Rs 60 crores, raising its annual production to 1 5 million tons of finished steel The present subscribed capital is Rs 17 34 crores

Tatas' hydro electric power system, the largest in the country, has an aggregate capacity, in combination with the Bombay grid and railway thermal plant, of 390,000 KW and annual production of 1,800 million units The total subscribed capital of the three companies is Rs 12 84 crores Tata Locomotive and Engineering Works now manufacture 50 locomotives and 50 extra boilers per year The loco production capacity will be doubled by 1958 In 1954, their enterprise entered into an agreement with Daimler Benz, A G-, of Germany to set up a highly mechanised modern foundry for iron and steel castings Among the other Chief ventures of the House of Tata are Voltas, in collaboration with Volkart Bros, of Switzerland, Chemical products and Oil units Tatas have achieved striking success in the insurance business, most up to-date hotel industry and a large investment corporation Their enterprise in the Civil Aviation Industry (now nationalised) was a potent factor in pushing the progress of commercial aviation at home and particularly aborad

A remarkable feature of the Tata Sons' Capital is that 85 per cent of it is held by philanthropic trusts endowed by members of Tata family

BIRLA BROTHERS

Messrs Birla Brothers have raised their stature to a top rank in India by their outstanding contribution to a wide range of new lines of production The genius behind the house of Birla is Mr G D Birla, who has never allowed his vision and view of the future to be cramped by a narrow outlook It is a characteristic feature of the approach of Birla Brothers to the industrial progress of India—they seek to resort to unconventional choice of ventures Although the name of Birla Brothers is long connected with the Jute

Industry, history will record their contribution to the transport manufacturing industries as the most valuable and enterprising Thus Birla Brothers have shown a commendable degree of enterprise and risk in launching the Hindustan Motors Ltd , producing rolling stock for railway like freight wagons and allied equipment, bicycles and so forth A striking illustration of the unconventional approach to industrial development which Birla Brothers have shown is the variety of lines of textile production in natural as well as synthetic fibres

Hindustan Motors Ltd , the premier contribution of Birla Brothers to India's industrial expansion n recent years is already sufficiently advanced in manufacturing motor components and parts in the plant itself The initial phase of handicaps and consumer prejudice was overcome with a dogged determination to go ahead with the automobile development programme, but in the last two years the entire change in the Government's policy on automobiles has given a stimulus to the rapid expansion of this plant Its products include the popular Landmaster and the Baby Hindustan Car Future expansion has made adequate allowance for the production of freight trucks Part of the capacity of the plant is utilised for the manufacture of Diesel Engines for which the domestic demand and the demand of the neighbouring export market is steadily growing

Birla Jute Manufacturing Co takes place today as one of the most successful ventures of the Birla group of industries It has the pride of place as India s first jute venture to be established under Indian management From a modest size of 450 looms it expanded to 1,373 looms on the eve of the war and this loomage capacity has been maintained undiminished in spite of a period of adversity for the jute industry after the partition of the country In addition, Birla Brothers also manage Soorah Jute Mills and Rameshwara Jute Mills Birla Brother's bias for the unconventional is strikingly demonstrated in the pioneering lines which they have introduced in the sphere of textiles Linoleum, acetate fabrics, fabrics produced with a substantial admixture of staple fibre, a variety of flax and textile products including those required for hoses tarpaulins canvasses, linen suitings indicate new manufacturing product started by Birla Brothers They also operate a woollen textile mill, but of greater importance than this venture is their share in the country s cotton textile production They manage a group of five cotton textile mills among which Kesoram Cotton Mills Ltd needs brief mention Today, Kesoram Cotton Mills comes before the mind as the biggest composite unit in Bengal but it is necessary to recall that Birla Brothers did not have an easy walk-over in building its progress During the gloomy period of the depression of the 'thirties, Kesoram Cotton Mills was steeped in heavy financial losses and here there was a great test of the spirit of Birla Brothers of initiative and enterprise Preference Dividends and normal depreciation fell in heavy arrears and the managing agents had to advance loans rising as high as Rs 18 6 lacs for this single unit The capacity of the mill now stands at 71,400 spindles and 1 990 looms

Among the capital industries of basic importance operated by Birlas mention must be made of the National Ball Bearing Company which manufactures ball and roller bearings—the pioneering enterprise in the country in this field Texmaco, Calcutta and Gwalior factories have stabilised their position in the manufacture of textile machinery

In the short space available, full justice is difficult to be made to the complete range of manufacturing lines in which Birla Brothers have invested their fortune and talents They have undertaken successful manufacture of calcium carbide in the Birla Jute Mills as a subsidiary company and again this is the first enterprise in this sphere in India The remaining important enterprises of this group of industrialists include sugar, paper, vanaspati, plastics, pharmaceuticals, radios, confectionery and electrical appliances Their comprehensive approach to the development of industry has induced them in a different

field—tea and coffee plantations—where Indian enterprise has generally functioned as a specialised branch of industry

The philanthropic activities of Birla Brothers have been extended, besides the normal spheres of general educational institutions and hospitals, to founding institutions for engineering and technical training as well as for basic scientific research

SAHU JAIN

Within a span of a little more than two decades, Messrs Sahu Jain Ltd have made their mark on the fraternity of the leading industrialists of India With a confidence that is born of a spirit of enterprise grounded on a wealth of experience, Sahu Jain are steadily raising their stature Twenty-three years ago this group of industrialists started with a humble beginning of a small sugar factory in Bihar But in course of time there have been ramifications of their manufacturing establishments which have covered not only integrated and dependent lines of ancillary production but new and altogether unconnected ventures Mr Shanti Prasad Jain, the guiding spirit behind Messrs Sahu Jain, has set before himself two goals in expanding the manufacturing potential of this group They are that instead of following the line of least resistance and setting up additional plants in industries, where a sufficient advance has been made by this country and locking the scarce resources of the country in duplication of factories, Mr Shanti Prasad Jain firmly believes in selecting new ventures which will help in eliminating the dependence of the country on imported products It may look as if the present requirements of certain products which have been pur posely taken up by Messrs Sahu Jain have not a very large volume of demand, but precisely these are the products where the country has not beaten new path In the second place Mr Shanti Prasad lays a special stress on continuous research in bringing about technological improvement

Consistently with the size of the factories owned by Messrs Sahu Jain, the research laboratories attached to them are planned on medium scales But this factor has not in the least detracted from their contribution to advances in the field of technical research As will be presently pointed out this group has pioneered many new lines and sub lines of manufacture It is usual to level strong criticism against Indian industrialists on the score that they do not fully grasp the significance of continuous research and do not show the breadth of vision to make costly investment in it unlike the industrialists of the West Messrs Sahu Jain represent the younger generation of Indian industrialists who refuse to hesitate risks in research Their rational and modern approach to progress in industry is demonstrated in another striking manner In most of their factories statistical quality control, of which not many of the groups of industries in this country can boast, has been introduced Messrs Sahu Jain have developed twenty major categories of manufacturing industries most of which have clustered in the industrial area of Dalmia Nagar No less a critic than Mr T T Krishnamachari, who certainly cannot be accused of any bias for private enterprise, has turned into an admirer of Messrs Sahu Jain and this admiration has been induced by the sheer achievements of the house of Jain He said I will not object to the continuance of the private sector if there are more and more Dalmia Nagars in the country "

Among the industries owned and operated by Messrs Sahu Jain Ltd the Rohtas industries, located in Dalmia Nagar for the most part, easily stand out as the leading ones They comprise the original sugar factory started in 1933, a cement factory, a paper factory, bamboo, bagasse and wood pulp plants, chemical plants, and asbestos cement factory, a spun pipe factory, a Vanaspati factory and a confectionery plant, besides a power house To those who picture managing agents as a class of industrialists amassing vast wealth and grabbing commission income in every conceivable way, it should come as a revelation that there are frequent situations when managing agents have to save the enterprises in which

shareholders have a heavy stake, by risking their own funds Messrs Sahu Jain had to meet quite a number of such situations It redounds to their credit, as it does to some more of their compeers, that they have voluntarily forgone the managing agency commission on a number of occasions during the post-war period which is supposed to have brought uninterrupted financial prosperity on the crest of the boom

The different units constituting Rohtas Industries turn out annual output of the value of Rs 11 crores and provide direct employment to 7,000 persons Paper and allied industries exemplify the pioneering vision and managerial skill of Messrs Sahu Jain The paper factory of Rohtas Industries manufactures a wide range of papers and boards Its capacity which was merely 6,000 tons of papers and boards in 1938 has been stepped up to 16,000 tons and the vigorous programme of expansion that is now under way envisages raising the capacity to 52,000 tons per year by October, 1956 This plant includes in all 8 different kinds of machines In this specific sphere, the fruits of Sahu Jain's research and pioneering enterprise are seen in an arresting manner They are the first in the country to manufacture all varieties of light-weight paper from bagasse coated boards, which were hitherto exclusively imported but whose domestic requirements of the order of about 12,000 tons will be satisfied by the plant, valcanised fibre sheets produced in India for the first time without foreign technical assistance in any form, bleached pulp from bagasse, wood pulp from a variety of Indian timber manufactured by mechanical processes and so forth

Dhrangadhra Chemical Works Ltd are intended primarily to satisfy the requirements of the pulp and paper factories of Rohtas Industries and they produce caustic soda, chlorine, bleaching powder and sulphuric acid It is significant that their capacity is being enlarged primarily for greater output of caustic soda and chlorine to the tune of 5,000 tons each The high quality of caustic soda is expected to suit the requirements of the rayon industry for which purpose part of the new capacity will be spared Dhrangadhra Chemical Works have a plan of extension in South India by setting up caustic soda and soda ash plants at Tuticorin to take care of the total needs of the South The close of the current calendar year—1956 —will see bold expansion in the cement factories located at Dalmia Nagar and Savai Madhopur raising the annual production capacity to 1 2 million tons together per year Rohtas Industries rank among the country's two leading manufacturers of Asbestos Cement Products Messrs Sahu Jain have a distinguished association with India's Jute Manufacturing Industry and their Jute Mills account for a combined loomage of 1,765

Newspaper and printing is the latest large-scale venture into which Messrs Sahu Jain have entered They are now the proprietors of Bennett, Coleman & Co , who are the publishers of the country's mammoth groups of papers, consisting of the The Times of India and two more dailies, two weeklies, one fortnightly, one annual and one valued directory The Times of India press which is the corner-stone of this group of industry is the largest not only in India but in the East The distinction of running the leading English Daily and the leading Hindi daily of India has been captured by this group

Messrs Sahu Jain have not lagged behind in philanthropic and cultural activities The Sahu Jain Trust makes continuous awards of loan scholarships to brilliant but resourceless students to complete their educational careers The Trust also grants scholarships for research and advanced studies in India and abroad They benefit on an average 200 students per year It is a tribute to the quality of research in Rohtas Industries that China and Ceylon have sent their technicians for training in the plant manufacturing bleached pulp from bagasse

SOORAJMULL NAGARMULL

Messrs Soorajmull Nagarmull have chosen to confine their industrial activities in important spheres, but by the very reason of this self chosen restriction they have had an opportunity to show the skills

in specialisation No account of the group of industries managed by this business house can properly start without making first mention of the Bengal Jute Mill Company This company was floated as a transformation of a going concern in 1940—a critical period for the share market when capital had become not only shy but frightened owing to the reverses which the allies suffered at the hands of Hitler's Germany in the early phase of the last war Bengal Jute was conceived as a bold floatation at an inopportune time and if its issue of debentures and preference share capital of the order of Rs 10 lacs each was fully under-written, with a marginal premium for the preference shares, this performance amounts to a verdict of con fidence in the financial soundness and managerial abilities of Messrs Soorajmull Nagarmull The gross block of this enterprise rose from Rs 31 02 lacs at the end of 1940 to Rs 54 88 lacs at the end of June, 1953 Besides jute, this business house has made a success of important lines of manufacture which include cotton textiles, leather cloth, chemicals, soaps and so on The Oriental Gas Company, Calcutta has earned the gratitude of the residents of the city for the comforts and amenities which it has brought to their domestic life

KARAMCHAND THAPAR & BROS.

In the fraternity of indutrialists of this country, Messrs Karamchand Thapar & Bros have earned a place of stable reputation and soundness In the sphere of paper manufacture, they have launched a vigorous programme of diversified production Paper output ranges from the usual white printing paper to coloured printing paper, varied requirements of stationery paper and choice qualities required for specia-lised purposes like thin typewriting and airmail paper The two mills owned by Messrs Karamchand Thapar & Bros are Shree Gopal Paper Mills (Jagadhri in Punjab) and Ballarpur Paper & Straw Board Mills (Ballarpur, Madhya Pradesh) But in particular the chequered history of the growth of Shree Gopal Paper Mills testifies to the qualities of perseverance and enterprise of Messrs Karamchand Thapar The Mills were purchased by them in 1926 when they had gone into liquidation and the condition of the major part of the assets had become dilapidated The initial period under the new management was one of severe trial but the management emerged successfully out of it In less than two decades Shree Gopal Paper Mills have been developed to the position of a major unit in India's paper industry Production rose from 5,000 tons in 1938 to 14,000 tons in 1953 and the immediate programme of expansion provided for a further increase to 24,000 tons The supplementary lines of production in this unit consist of vanaspati, soap and stationery The paid-up capital increased to Rs 58 lacs in 1953, an increase of 100% since 1946 Among the chief enterprises in which this house has invested risk capital are coal, sugar, cotton textiles, electricals, radios and engineering equipment

MESSRS. BHARAT RAM CHARAT RAM & CO. LTD

This Managing Agency house has earned a place of distinction among the foremost leaders of industry in North India Their premier venture, the Delhi Cloth and General Mills, has an old and conti-nuous reputation for production of cotton cloth, both high quality as well as popular quality In recent years they have made great strides in the production of ready made garments and a very wide variety of household furnishing fabrics Apart from textiles this unit has made important ramifications It includes chemical works, a vanaspati factory, a tent manufacturing works and a power and alcohol plant DCM's research laboratory has now become an essential and integral part in the country's institutions of industrial research Of a totally different character is their entry in the field of engineering industries A number of products are manufactured by the Jay Engineering Works, but the Usha Sewing machines, electric fans and hurricane lanterns have made very rapid progress The Usha Sewing Machine is building up a steady export market It is characteristic of the manufacturing policies of this house that at a time when India

has not planted her feet firmly in the field of engineering production, they have pursued a deliberate policy of reducing the sale price, while incurring higher social expenditure on labour welfare

THE BRITISH INDIA CORPORATION

The British India Corporation has a network of varied industries which have been centred principally around Kanpur In the short space available for a very broad review of the activities of different industrial groups in the country, mention can be made of only a few of the outstanding enterprises which are being carried out in an efficient manner under the Corporation's management "Dhariwal" has now become a household word, particularly in north India, where the great relief and comfort which Dhariwal's woollen fabrics bring to the general mass of people at prices suited to their pockets are remembered with the feeling of gratitude Time was when woollens had to be procured from imported sources at high prices and the middle and lower classes had to undergo quite a measure of austerity in the bitterest of winter seasons Dhariwal has altered this situation with remarkable rapidity and India has been enabled to progress towards self sufficiency in the production of woollen fabrics

During World War II Dhariwal s capacity was switched over to defence production and the management had no choice whatsoever in the matter of catering to the requirements of the civilian population, harassed by the hardships of inflation But as soon as freedom was restored to the management, the British India Corporation lost no time in reorganizing and rationalizing the capacity of its woollen plant Quite a number of uptodate constructional and organizational improvements were incorporated in the woollen mills This inevitably required heavy capital outlay which was not grudged because it was bound to be fully reflected *in the qualitative improvement of the manufactures* The progress achieved since independence needs at least passing narration Before the end of the war Dhariwal concentrated mainly on the output of coarse and medium varieties of yarn and cloth This has now become a thing of the past and the new machinery which was installed at suitable intervals has enabled the factory to produce a wide range of fabrics of fine and medium qualities for which the consumer demand has now become stabilised Dhariwal's woollen and worsted fabrics blankets tweeds knitting yarns, and other products have earned a reputation in the home market for quality and durability at modest prices A new dye house, the erection of which was completed in 1952 and a new weaving shed, which amounts to renovation of the old building and is still under completion, constitute the main planks in the expansion of the factory The management has always shown great solicitude for maintaining quality control in its products

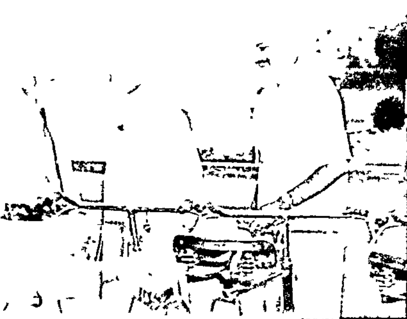
The British India Corporation undertakes other industrial manufactures of importance to the Indian economy But here mention must be made of its leather and footwear products Flex footwear, unlike certain utility footwear which has intruded into the Indian market, has established a name of its own for quality A variety of leather products is also produced by the Corporation's manufacturing units After the partition of the country supplies of raw hides and skins threatened to retard the progress of leather and foot wear production But the Government's helpful policy in encouraging indigenous output of raw materials and vigilant regulation of exports of hides and skins has enabled the Corporation, like its compeers in the sphere, to under-take a programme of expanded leather and footwear manufacture

The British India Corporation has always shown a keen awareness of its obligations to labour for welfare Housing, schools, canteens, and amenities of recreation constitute its main programmes to raise the levels of labour welfare

OTHER LUMINARIES

In a brief and therefore inadequate survey of the role of business houses in the industrial economy of this country, the error of omission is undoubtedly likely to be very great. It was mentioned at the outset that the specific description of some select business houses is in no way exhaustive but that it is merely illustrative and the omission to mention those who have earned a status of high distinction is to be blamed on the limitations of space. Nevertheless, some of the luminaries on the industrial horizon of the country must be mentioned even if in a passing manner. The house of Singhania has placed the economy under definite obligation by launching the first Indian owned and managed aluminium enterprise against heavy odds. Particular note must be taken of the fact that in this industry the national borders are transcended and international cartels have become too powerfully entrenched for nascent ventures in underdeveloped countries. The Walchand group of industries has shown a remarkable degree of venture in food industries, commercial agricultural industries and construction industries. Their name is more inextricably bound up with basic industries like ship building and aeroplane manufacture. In Bombay State a large number of enterprising houses have made their mark on the recent development of industry. The South has certainly never lagged behind and it is all the more to the credit of industrial pioneers in the South that they have not allowed their spirits to be daunted by the relative inadequacies of resources. What the South lacks in material resources she has more than compensated by her acknowledged resources in talent. Mysore State under the erstwhile royal patronage has flourished into an advanced industrialised region. If a representative name of a distinguished business house from the South is to be mentioned, the name of Seshasayee Bros at once comes before the memory. Their greatest contribution to the national industry has been in the field of chemicals but they have also ventured into forbidding fears like aluminium products.

Atlas Industries help to make country self-sufficient in Cycles. The President, Vice-President and Prime Minister Examining the Eastern Star Cycles, produced by Atlas.





WITH the attainment of independence, development activity in the country gathered a great deal of momentum Projects which were under way were given a new impetus and new projects of vital importance were taken up to aid in the rapid development of the country Construction of buildings, roads, bridges, aerodromes, etc was undertaken on a large scale

During the past eight years since August 1947, The Central Public Works Department successfully undertook and completed schemes costing over Rs 70 crores On the housing side alone the Department completed the construction of 34,420 houses and tenements and 4508 shops for displaced persons from West Pakistan, and 9664 houses for the staff of the Central Government at Delhi

The works entrusted to this Department all over the country were of varied nature Their sites lay as remote and far flung as Jammu & Kashmir, Sikkim, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Tripura, Coorg and Andamans Islands, etc Landmarks in the construction activity of the Department are the Jammu Pathankot Road, Civil Engineering Works for the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, buildings for the Calcutta Telephone Automatisation Scheme, the Indian Institute of Technology at Hijli, Kuakhai and Kathjuri bridges near Cuttack in Orissa, Colonies for the displaced persons at Delhi, Banihal Tunnel, Conference Hall & Hostel Building for the UNESCO at Delhi, Supreme Court, Multi-storeyed office buildings in Delhi, Bombay and Madras, District Courts in Delhi, etc Details of these and other important works executed by this Department, grouped under various categories are given below -

I. ROADS & BRIDGES

(a) (i) Jammu-Pathankot Road

With the partition of the country in 1947, road link between India and the States of Jammu & Kashmir was severed as the then existing communicating roads fell in the Pakistan territory. The task of

constructing a road to connect Jammu with Pathankot, the nearest railhead in India, was entrusted to this Department in October 1947

A team of engineers was immediately set on the job An aerial survey of the terrain through which the road had to pass was undertaken and the alignment of the road fixed by December 1947 Work was started immediately therafter and a 12 feet wide bitumenised road, 65 miles long, with 3 major bridges and numerous minor bridges, culverts and causeways capable of carrying heavy military traffic was completed in a record time of only six months at a cost of Rs 3 crores

(ii) **Dhar Udhampur Road**

At present Jammu & Kashmir State is accessible by the Pathankot-Jammu Road, which runs very near to the Pakistan border As it does not serve the interior of Jammu Province of Jammu & Kashmir State the Government of India decided to construct another road which will not only provide an independent approach to the Jammu and Kashmir State but also serve the interior of the State

The Road takes off from the Pathankot-Dalhousie Road at Dhar and joins Jammu Srinagar Road at Udhampur and is aligned to pass through Thein, Manpur and Ramkot It will be about 95 miles long and is expected to cost about Rs 4 5 crores

In addition to the above, a link road about 20 miles long is being constructed to join the Pathankot-Jammu Road with the Dhar Udhampur road near Ramkot This link road will take off from the Pathankot-Jammu Road at Tarnah causeway and pass through the village Ding Amb It is expected that "Jeepable" track will first be completed along its entire route by the end of 1956 and then the whole road finished in all respects in 1958-59

(b) **Banihal Tunnel Project**

The present route to Kashmir valley, which crosses the Pir Panjal range of hills in Jammu & Kashmir State at an altitude of about 9,000 feet above the mean sea level, remains snow-bound during winter and renders the valley of Kashmir inaccessible by road during that period, when due to bad weather conditions, air service also becomes uncertain and even risky It has, therfore, been proposed to make the road an all-weather one by driving a tunnel through the snow capped mountains at an elevation of about 7,000 feet

The work of the construction of tunnel which will be 8,100 feet long has been awarded to M s Baresel and Kunz, a German Firm, on very competitive rates The tunnel will consist of two tubes, each 16'-6" wide and 18 -2" in height One of the tubes will be used for the up traffic and the other for the down traffic The cost of the tunnel work only will be nearly Rs 2 14 crores The total cost of the tunnel, including ventilation and other ancilliary works, is expected to be about three crores of rupees

The work on the tunnel is proceeding satisfactorily and one tube is expected to be ready by 30-11-56 The remaining work will be completed by 1 4 1958

(c) **BRIDGES ON NATIONAL HIGHWAYS 5 & 6**

Kathjuri & Kuakhai Bridges

The construction of two reinforced cement concrete bridges over the Kathjuri and the Kuakhai tributaries of the Mahanadi river, where the National Highway No 5 (Calcutta-Madras) crosses them was given high priority by the Government of India, which asked this Department to handle the job

The bridge over Kathjuri river is 2820 feet long and consists of 17 spans of 160 feet each It is the longest R C C bridge made so far in India and has been built at a cost of about 45 lacs of rupees

The bridge over the Kuakhai river is 1696 feet long and consists of 15 spans of 160 feet each with end cantilevers of 53′ each It has been built by this Department at a cost of 23 lacs of rupees

Bridges over Brahmani, Baitarani and Subarnarekha rivers on N.H.6.

Construction of bridges over these rivers is under progress Brahmani Bridge is almost complete and it will be opened to traffic very soon Work on the bridges over Baitarani and Subarnarekha rivers is in progress and is likely to be completed by the end of 1956

Brahmani bridge is 1850 feet long and will cost about Rs 15 7 lacs

Baitarani bridge is 555 feet long and will cost about Rs 18 6 lacs

Subarnarekha bridge is about 720 feet long and will cost about Rs 11 00 lacs

Bethari bridge on river Cawery

Bethari bridge of the submercible arch type, across the river Cawery at Bethari in mile 12/2 of the Mercara Viriajpat road, in Coorg, was completed in June 1955 at a cost of Rs 2 4 lacs This makes the existing Mercara Viriajpet Road an all weather one and thus reduces the length of the old circuitous road from Viriajpet to Mercara by 9 miles It is made of masonry arches resting on abutments and piers of stone masonry

II. FACTORIES

Sindri Fertilizer Factory

This Department executed all the civil engineering works for the Sindri Factory, consisting of factory buildings storage sheds, administrative office blocks and other structures like hospital, school, club etc The entire work entrusted to this Department was completed in 1950 at a cost of about 3 0 crores of rupees

Hindustan Cables Factory, Rupnarainpur

The Department was associated with the construction of the technical buildings as well as residential buildings at Rupnarainpur near Chittaranjan for the Telephone Cables Factory Work on this factory was started in 1952 and has since been completed and the factory gone into production

What was once a barren land has been developed into a separate self contained colony laid out according to a Master Plan The workshop structure at this factory is of welded steel construction The total cost of the works executed at the factory is about Rs 13 lacs

Machine Tools Factory, Jalahali

This Department erected four hangars and constructed annexes etc , for the Machine Tools Factory at Jalahali at a total cost of about Rs 10 lacs

The work of ventilating the Bellman and Butler hangers is also being done and it is expected to be completed this year

Penicillin Factory, Poona

Construction of buildings for the Penicillin Factory at Poona was entrusted to this Department in 1952 The main buildings have already been completed, and the factory has gone into production Additional residential quarters, general stores, rest house and community centre are under construction

The factory has been provided with an independent water supply system with filteration plant, over head tanks etc A special sewage disposal plant for the treatment of industrial waste from the factory has also been completed The total cost of construction of the buildings for this project is about Rs 57 lacs

Government of India Press, Nasik

The Press was inaugurated on 31 10 1955 by Sardar Swarn Singh, Union Minister for Works Housing & Supply Work on 642 quarters of various types for the staff of the Press is in progress and is expected to be completed by May, 1956 Construction of the ' forms wing ' costing Rs 4 lacs is in full swing and will be completed by March, 1956

New Mint, Calcutta

Construction of buildings like workshop, administrative block, residential quarters for a new Mint at Calcutta was started by this Department in the year 1941 This work was held in abeyance at the outbreak of war with Japan The work was, however, resumed in February 1948 and completed in 1950 The total expenditure incurred on it was Rs 110 0 lacs

The workshop is a very large structure giving a plinth area of over 2 lacs square feet Strong rooms with heavily reinforced cement concrete walls, floors and roofs have been constructed for the storage of metal and coins The workshop is also provided with air ducts for "forced ventilation "

National Instruments Factory at Calcutta

This is a project costing about Rs 38 0 lacs and was sanctioned by Government of India in the Ministry of Production in December 1952 There are several buildings under construction in connection with this project The main workshop building covering an area of 38,000 square feet and costing Rs 5 2 lacs is almost complete Foundry and timber store, dispensary, canteen and cycle shed are under construction The administrative building is a three storeyed R C C framed structure with five storeys This covers an area of 71,620 square feet and costs about Rs 10 lacs The work is in full swing and is expected to be completed by August 1956

D.D.T. Factory at Delhi

This Department constructed the D D T Factory at Delhi at a cost of about Rs 5 lacs which is capable of producing 1400 tons of D D T per year Production in this factory started early this year

Government of India Press at Faridabad

This Department is constructing the Government of India Press at Faridabad at a cost of Rs 23 32 lacs The entire project is almost complete

III. INSTITUTIONS

Marine Engineering College, Calcutta

Construction of buildings for the Marine Engineering College, Calcutta consisting of main college building, workshop, hostels for cadets and apprentices and residential quarters for the staff, was taken in hand by this Department in 1951 The construction was completed in 1953 and the Institute was officially inaugurated by the Prime Minister in December 1953 The total cost of this project was Rs 33 7 lacs

Indian Institute of Technology at Hijli

The construction of the main Institute building, hostels, staff quarters etc , for the Institute of higher technology at Hijli was entrusted to this Department in 1950 Major portion of the work has already been

completed and the Institute has started functioning The construction of the remaining portion of the main building is almost complete The work on residential accommodation for the staff and students is in progress

The cost of construction of the main Institute building alone is Rs 74 lacs The total cost of the project when completed, will border on Rs 2 25 crores

Indian School of Mines at Dhanbad

Extension to the school building and construction of additional hostels were taken in hand by this Department in 1948 and completed in 1951 In addition to these, a number of residential quarters was also constructed Total cost of the works executed for the school is about Rs 17 lacs

All India Medical Institute

This Department has been entrusted with the work of developing a 150 acre plot and constructing thereon 'All India Medical Institute" at New Delhi Residential quarters have almost been completed Construction of the main building which will be a R C C framed structure of 10 storeys, has also started The entire project is estimated to cost about Rs 3 33 crores

College building at Mercara

A first class building for a first grade college for the Coorg State at Mercara has been constructed by this Department at an approximate cost of Rs 10 lakhs

Sugarcane Breeding Institute at Coimbatore

Construction of a laboratory block for Sugar Cane Breeding Institute at Coimbatore has been started The estimated cost of the project is Rs 6 0 lacs

IV. POST & TELEGRAPHS WORKS

Automatisation of telephones at Calcutta

A large number of telephone exchange buildings in different parts of the city has been constructed by this Department for the automatisation of Telephone scheme at a total cost of Rs 180 lacs

The Bank and City exchange building, the most important in the chain of these Exchanges, is situated in Dalhousie Square It has 10 storeys and is one of the highest buildings in Calcutta The total cost of this building alone is over Rs 100 0 lacs

Telegraph Training Centre at Jubbulpore

Construction of building for the training centre, capable of admitting about 800 students, was taken in hand in December 1951 and completed in April 1954 at a total cost of Rs 16 lacs This is a double structure with a frontage of 500 feet

A hostel (costing about Rs 10 lacs) for providing accommodation to 250 students is almost complete

Telephone Exchange Building at Bangalore

A telephone exchange building has been constructed at Bangalore at a cost of Rs. 6 lakhs This work was started in December 1951 and completed in March 1953.

Telephone Exchange Building at Hyderabad

Two telephone exchange buildings, one at Secunderabad and the other at Saifabad, near Hyderabad, have been constructed at a total cost of about Rs 8 lacs

Telephone Exchange Building at Tis Hazari, Delhi

A building to accommodate a telephone exchange has been constructed at Tis Hazari, in Delhi at a cost of about Rs 3 37 lacs

G.P.O. and P & T Department Office in New Delhi

Multi-storeyed building for the General Post Office and office of the P & T Department is being constructed on the Parliament Street, New Delhi at a cost of Rs. 26 lacs

Construction of building for Foreign Post Office at Mathura Road, Delhi

In order to ensure quick disposal of foreign parcels, which are to be checked up by customs authorities, a double-storeyed building has been constructed on the Delhi-Mathura Road at a cost of Rs 3 90 lacs

V. HOUSING & DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

In Delhi, this Department handled a very gigantic scheme of developing land for housing the displaced persons from West Pakistan and also for providing residential accommodation to the staff of the Central Government An area of over 4581 acres of land has been developed and provided with services at a cost of about Rs 5 32 crores Colonies like Man Nagar, Shan Nagar, Seva Nagar, Vinaynagar and Kaka Nagar were developed for the residential flats for the Central Government servants Sunder Nagar, Golf Links, Jorbagh Nursery and part of Chanakya Puri were developed and laid out for sale to the public for putting up their own houses Rehabilitation colonies like Rajinder Nagar, Patel Nagar, Moti Nagar, Tilak Nagar, Tehar, Nizamuddin, Jungpura, Lajpat Nagar, Kalkaji, Malvia Nagar, Malka Ganj, etc were built up for housing the displaced persons Part of Chanakya Puri has been earmarked for the construction of Embassy buildings and Chanceries by foreign Diplomatic Missions This area has been planned and developed to a high standard in view of its special importance

To cater to the needs of such huge extensions to the city, the existing services had to be augmented The existing systems of bulk water-supply, sewage and roads have been strengthened and enlarged to cope with the increased demands A large number of reservoirs on the ridge, with adequate pumping arrangements have been built Capacity of water treatment plant has been increased An additional trunk sewer for the southern areas has been laid Portions of the ring road to provide through communication between colonies, and from the outlying colonies to the City, have also been completed

Simultaneously with the development of land, this Department has constructed over 9,664 houses for Central Government servants and over 34,420 houses and tenements for the displaced persons Expenditure incurred on the construction of these is of the order of Rs 18 5 crores

At present, construction of over 5,954 houses for Government servants, and 2,916 houses and shops for displaced persons, is in progress

The question of providing residential accommodation for the staff of the Central Government in important cities like Calcutta and Bombay also has been taken up by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply Government have sanctioned the construction of 466 quarters of various categories in [illegible] at a cost of Rs. 52 97 lacs There the work on 375 quarters is in progress and [illegible] pected to

pleted by March 1956 In Bombay, work on 433 quarters of various categories has been started at Ghatkooper This scheme, which is estimated to cost Rs 57 4 lacs, will be completed in a year's time.

VI. OFFICE BUILDINGS

In Bombay, the Central Government Office building on Queens Road was extended in 1950-51 at a cost of Rs 15 lacs to provide additional office space of 36,000 square feet Also first phase of the seven-storeyed office building costing Rs 42 44 lacs and providing a carpet area of 1,28,650 square feet has been completed recently on the Queens Road Work on the second phase of this building, costing Rs 27 99 lacs and yielding carpet area of 92,000 square feet has been started recently and is expected to be completed in two years' time

A 5 storeyed office building (giving a carpet area of 1,14,700 sft) for the Accountant General, Madras is being constructed at an estimated cost of Rs 22 0 lacs and will be completed in about a year's time

At Ahmedabad the first phase of the Income Tax Office Building has been completed and work on the second phase is in progress This portion of the building is four-storeyed and will provide a carpet area of about 11 200 square feet and is expected to be completed in about 6 months' time

In Delhi, a multi-storeyed building on the Delhi-Mathura Road has been completed at a cost of Rs 41 42 lacs for the C B R

Work on the construction of office building for the A G C R on Delhi-Mathura Road has also been taken in hand at a cost of Rs 35 76 lacs Work on the construction of office building for the Comptroller and Auditor of India on Delhi-Mathura Road has been taken in hand at an estimated cost of Rs 11 18 lacs

First phase of the multi storeyed office building on the Queen Victoria Road has already been completed while work on its second phase, estimated to cost about 35 8 lacs has been taken in hand Work on both phases of the multi storeyed office building on the King Edward Road, estimated to cost Rs 34 60 lacs and 41 36 lacs respectively has also been taken in hand

Multi storeyed building for the A I R , estimated to cost Rs 29 53 lacs, and a multi storeyed building for G P O and other P & T Offices, costing about Rs 26 00 lacs, are also being constructed on the Parliament Street in New Delhi

At Bhubaneswar we are constructing office and residential accommodation for the Accountant General, Orissa, at an estimated cost of 59 lacs

At Tatanagar we have recently started work of constructing Metallurgical Inspectorate offices and Laboratory at an estimated cost of 12 8 lacs

VII. COURT BUILDINGS

Supreme Court at New Delhi

This Department has undertaken the construction of a three storeyed building for the Supreme Court of India, New Delhi near the Hardinge bridge The total cost of costruction of this building will be Rs 45 lacs

Court Building at Tis Hazari, Delhi

The Court building is being constructed at Tis Hazari, Delhi, to house 72 courts including the Administrative offices of the State It will also accommodate offices of the Deputy Commissioner, Magistrate,

Prosecuting D S P , Public Prosecutor, Registration, Custodian, Records etc The entire building is estimated to cost about Rs 99 lacs

VIII. RESEARCH INSTITUTE

This Department was entrusted with the construction of residential quarters required for the staff of the Research Institutes set up by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research at various places A large number of quarters at Digwadih, Tatanagar, Poona and Calcutta have been constructed at an aggregate cost of about Rs 44 5 lacs

Tobacco Research Station at Rajahmundry

A number of buildings for this Research Station were constructed by this Department at an estimated cost of Rs 5 lacs in 1952 A building for the Institute costing Rs 5 9 lacs is nearing completion now

Indian Council of Agricultural Research

Two hostels for 220 students each have been constructed for the Indian Agricultural Research Institute in New Delhi at a cost of about Rs 9 lacs

A cold storage for fish was constructed at Bombay in the year 1950 51 at an estimated cost of Rs 5 75 lacs It was designed to hold 250 tons of frozen fish and 40 tons of unfrozen fish

IX. ALL INDIA RADIO WORKS

A building for housing a 10 Kwt Transmitter was constructed at Gauhati at a cost of about Rs 2 2 lacs In 1954 a 50 Kwt Medium Wave Transmitter Station building was constructed at Malad, Bombay, at a cost of Rs 10 lacs In the same year, a building for housing a 50 Kwt Transmitter Station was constructed at Ahmedabad at an approximate cost of Rs 6 26 lacs

A Studio building at an estimated cost of Rs 2 5 lacs has been constructed at Madras

A building for Transmitters, at Jullunder, has been completed recently at a cost of about Rs 2 0 lacs

In addition, a 50 Kwt Transmitter building at Lucknow (3 31 lacs), a 20 Kw Transmitter building at Avadi, Madras (2 04 lacs), a 20 Kw Transmitter building at Indore (1 53 lacs), a 50 Kw Transmitter building at Banglore (5 35 lacs), a 100 Kw High Power Transmitter building at Malad Bombay (13 71 lacs), a 100 Kw Short Wave Transmitter building at Avadi, Madras (10 83 lacs), and a 10 Kw Transmitter building at Gauhati (2 2 lacs), have been constructed recently by this Department

Apart from the above, work on Studio Blocks for the A I R at Calcutta (4 02 lacs), Madras (4 92 lacs), Gauhati (6 39 lacs) and Ahmedabad (4 06 lacs) and Transmitter buildings for the A I R at Delhi (8 21 lacs), Guntur (Andhra) (2 29 lacs), Trichur (2 07 lacs) has been started

X. AERODROMES

(A) **Maintenance**

On behalf of the Director General, Civil Aviation, the Central Public Works Department is maintaining, all over India, 3 International Aerodromes, 8 Major Aerodromes, 33 Intermediate and 36 minor Civil Aerodromes

(B) **Construction of Runways at Airfields**

At Dum Dum aerodrome (Calcutta), a new runway 7000 feet long, 150 feet wide, designed to take heavy aircraft, has been constructed at a cost of Rs 52 lacs This runway has been built to the International

Civil Aviation Organisation standards Similarly the over-runs of the N S Runway are being extended at a cost of 1 031 lacs

At Santa Cruz aerodrome (Bombay), the exiting main runway had first been extended to 700 feet and strengthened at a cost of Rs 31 lacs to take heavy aircraft with isolated wheel load of 60,000 lbs, at a cost of Rs 21 63 lacs It is now being extended still further to meet the requirements of fully loaded Super Constellation aircraft

At Gauhati in Assam State, a new water bound macadam runway 4500 feet long was constructed in 1952 53 at a cost of Rs 8 lacs It has now been strengthened with 8" thick cement concrete slabs, at a total cost of Rs 14 19 lacs

At Bagdogra near Darjeeling (West Bengal) a new runway 4200 feet long and 150 wide was constructed in 1952 53 at a cost of about Rs 10 lacs

At Mangalore a runway was constructed in 1953 at a cost of Rs 4 84 lacs

Provisional airstrips, with the use of pierced steel plankings, were constructed in 1953 at Kailashahar, Kamalpur, Khowai, and Belonia in Tripura State, Balurghat in West Bengal and Sheela in Assam Pucca Runways are now being built at Kailashahar, Kamalpur and Ballurghat at costs of Rs 8 77 lacs, 6 66 lacs and 6 78 lacs respectively

Construction of the runway at the new aerodrome at Chandigarh (Punjab State) was completed at a cost of Rs 6 lacs and put into operation in October 1955 The work of constructing runways at Udaipur and Kandla costing Rs 3 72 and 7 57 lacs respectively is in progress Construction of runways at Kurnool Tulihal, Lillabari, Cooch Bihar, Muzaffarpur, Haldwani and Jogbani are being taken up

The runway at Madras is being strengthened by laying 6" thick cement concrete slabs, at a cost of 13 82 lacs to meet the requirements of modern heavy aircraft

(C) Construction of Terminal Buildings at Aerodromes

Terminal buildings at Lucknow, Amritsar, Nagpur, Gauhati and Bagdogra airfields have been completed by this Department at costs of Rs 2 lacs, 1 5 lacs, 6 5 lacs, 3 02 lacs and 3 02 lacs respectively The work of constructing Terminal Buildings at Santa Cruz (5 0 lacs) is in progress, while that at Kailashahar (2 74 lacs) Kamalpur (2 3 lacs), Khowai (2 12 lacs), Belonia (2 12 lacs), Rupsi (3 32 lacs) and Tirruchanipatta (5 57 lacs) is being taken up

(D) Construction of Residential Quarters at Aerodromes

A large number of residential quarters have been constructed for the essential staff working at the aerodromes at Dum Dum Santa Cruz, Bagdogra, Gauhati, Nagpur, Madras, Ahmedabad, Amritsar, Lucknow Rajkot and Bhubaneswar at an aggregate cost of Rs 96 lacs Further work of constructing residential accommodation at Santa Cruz, Dum Dum, Rupsi, Bagdogra, Tezpur, Gauhati, Mehandari, Jhersugadа, Kamalpur, Kailashahar Khowai, Belonia, Chandigarh, Udaipur, Kandla, Chakulia, Allahabad, Madras, Trichurapalli, Mangalore, Agartalla and Lillabari is in progress

(E) Constrution of Wireless Transmitting Stations at Aerodromes

W T Stations have been completed at Bombay, Calcutta, Gauhati and Rajkot New W T. Stations are being constructed at Chakulia, Gauhati, Bagdogra, Banaras, Allahabad, Bhavnagar, Parbodar and Keshod airfields

(F) Construction of Central Power Houses at Aerodromes

Central Power Houses are being constructed at Ballurghat, Gauhati, Tezpur, Rupsi, Lillabari, Kamlashahar, Kailashahar and Khowai airfields

(G) Ground Lighting facilities for Night Flying at Aerodromes

Ground lighting facilities are being provided at most of the airfields to facilitate night landing The work at Dum Dum (Rs 10 lacs), Santa Cruz (Rs 10 lacs) and Nagpur (Rs 7 5 lacs) has been completed While the work at Safdarjung (Rs 3 30 lacs), Lucknow (Rs 2 36 lacs), Gauhati (Rs 3 50 lacs) Agartala (Rs 3 0 lacs) Jaipur (Rs 3 55 lacs), Allahabad (Rs 3 70 lacs), Trichurapalli (Rs 2 68 lacs), Gaya (Rs 2 55 lacs), Rajkot (Rs 2 55lacs), Mangalore (Rs 0 74 lacs), Gorakhpur (Rs 0 74 lacs), Coimbatore (Rs 0 57 lacs) Kotah (Rs 0 54 lacs), Warrangal (Rs 0 76 lacs), Palam, (Rs 10 lacs), Amritsar (Rs 3 97 lacs) and Bhuj (Rs 3 0 lacs) is in progress

(H) Provision of Electric Supply Mains at Aerodromes

The work of providing electric supply mains has been sanctioned by the Government of India for Bagdogra, Banaras, Bhubaneswar, Gaya, Jabbalpur, Lalitpur, Passighat, Mohanbari and Chakulia airfields and it will be started shortly

(I) Miscellaneous works at the Aerodromes

(i) Construction of Yellow Fever Hospitals at Santa Cruz and Dum Dum has been completed While the work of constructing a similar Hospital at Madras is being taken up

(ii) Hangers of different sizes and types are being erected at Santa Cruz Allahabad, Bagdogra, Dum Dum Jaipur and Mohanbari airfields

(iii) The work of providing additional accommodation at G A T C Safdarjung is in progress

(iv) Installation of " obstruction lights " on tall chimneys of Mills at Ahmedabad and on Hill tops near Santa Cruz airfield was completed in 1953 54 The work of installing obstruction lights on Parasnath Hills near Gaya and on some more hills near Santa Cruz is going to be taken up shortly

XI. WATER SUPPLY SCHEME FOR AJMER

For providing increased water supply to Ajmer, this Department executed during 1949 52, a Scheme costing Rs 37 5 lacs This scheme consisted of the construction of 15 wells, each of 25 feet diameter and 50 feet depth, in the Saraswati river valley at Ganehra, about 8 miles away from Ajmer With the completion of this scheme, the supply of water has increased from 10 lacs to 28 lacs gallons per day, which ensures the supply of 14 gallons of water per capita per day

A similar scheme, to provide increased water supply for Beawar town, which is the next biggest town in Ajmer State, is nearing completion The estimated cost of this scheme is Rs 12 lacs

XII. GRAINS STORAGE GODOWNS

This Department renovated, during the period 1952-54, the wartime buildings constructed at Manmad, which were taken over by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, at a cost of about Rs 12 5 lacs for the storage of foodgrain

Six foodgrain godowns have been constructed at Jhinjirapole in Calcutta for the Ministry of Food and Agriculture at a cost of Rs 27 lacs Four of them are of the size 90 ×39 and the remaining two 405′×90 and 435 ×70

The work of constructing foodgrain godowns on timber pile foundations has also been started at a cost of Rs 14 87 lacs in Willingdon Island, Cochin

XIII. INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR GROUNDS, NEW DELHI

This Department has developed a 61-acre plot on the Delhi-Mathura Road and laid services therein and also built up a permanent octagonal Pavilion Building giving a carpet area of exhibition space of about 44,000 square feet at a cost of Rs 15 lacs for the Indian Industries Fair recently held in New Delhi

XIV. HEALTH CENTRES

An Urban Health Centre with staff quarters has been completed at Calcutta at a cost of Rs 5 1 lacs Sub health Centres have been constructed at Nasibpur and Paltagarh for giving practical training in Hygiene and Public Health A hostel along with staff quarters has also been constructed at Singur at a cost of Rs 6 78 lacs for accommodating 60 students undergoing training in the Sub-health Centre

XV. GENERAL

In addition to the above mentioned works, this Department has carried out numerous other works for various Ministries of the Government of India all over the country

To any observer the vastness of the construction activity of this Department will be quite evident Besides constructing roads and buildings, this Department looks after Government property and maintains Central Government buildings throughout the country

Lowering of costs of construction of buildings is continuously engaging the attention of the Government and the Department A Committee of Experts was appointed to go into the question of effecting reduction in the standards of accommodation and cost of construction and their recommendations have been adopted in the construction of new buildings

This Department took a leading part in the organisation of the low cost International Housing Exhibition held in New Delhi in 1954 The behaviour of the houses put up at that Exhibition is being watched carefully by a team of officers from the Research Station at Roorkee to see as to which type of house is the best suited for particular conditions of climate

HOUSING

I SUBSIDISED INDUSTRIAL HOUSING SCHEME

THE post independence era had witnessed a series of efforts to relieve the housing distress in the country Top priority had necessarily to be accorded to the requirements of industrial workers and the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme came into operation in September 1952 Sanctions amounting to nearly Rs 22 crores have been issued till the end of December 1955, for the construction of about 78,000 tenements Out of this amount, loans of Rs 1025 lakhs and subsidies of Rs 969 lakhs have gone to the State Governments for the construction of 65,982 tenements, private employers got loans and subsidies amounting to Rs 99 lakhs and Rs 72 lakhs respectively for 10,892 houses, and Co operative Societies of workers have been sanctioned loans amounting to Rs 17 lakhs, and subsidies amounting to Rs 9 lakhs for 1,318 tenements The construction of over 34 000 houses has been completed, the rest are in various stages of construction and are likely to be completed by 31st December, 1956 Payments (which are disbursed in a few instalments, roughly related to the progress of construction) to the extent of Rs 694 lakhs towards loans and Rs 307 lakhs towards subsidies have been authorised till the end of December 1955

2 In addition projects involving the construction of nearly 9 000 tenements at an estimated cost of Rs 250 lakhs are under consideration and are likely to be sanctioned in the near future

3 Apart from the progress achieved in the working of the Scheme a number of modifications of far reaching importance have been introduced in the Scheme during the years 1954 and 1955 As a result of these improvements, given below construction of more and better type of houses may be expected under the Scheme —

(i) Extension of scope of Scheme to mine workers (other than those employed in coal and mica mines for whom there are separate Schemes administered by the Ministry of Labour) governed by the Mines Act, 1952

(ii) Availability of aid for two-roomed tenements on the same general lines (on enhanced basis) as for one roomed houses,

(iii) Liberalization in the mode of payment of sanctioned assistance to the Co-operative Societies in such a manner that lack of initial capital does not stand in the way of their undertaking construction work and

(iv) Formulation of an arrangement whereby the State Governments can construct houses in the first instance and then sell them to workers on a hire purchase basis

2 LOW INCOME GROUP HOUSING SCHEME

The Low Income Group Housing Scheme announced in November 1954 promised for the first time financial assistance on convenient and reasonable terms to those with low incomes who are desirous of building their houses Financial assistance under the scheme is given in the form of loans through the State Governments (at about 4½% per annum) to individuals and co operatives of low incomes (i e whose incomes do not exceed Rs 500 per month) and is repayable in annual equated instalments over a period of 30 years Upto 80% of the cost of building the house (including land) subject to a maximum of Rs 8 000 - can be disbursed under the Scheme The Scheme also provides for —

(i) the grant of loans by the Centre to State Governments (in addition to those for the building of houses) for the acquisition and development of sites at an interest of about 3¾% repayable in three years The plots have to be sold within this period to prospective housebuilders on no profit no loss basis

(ii) the construction of houses by the State Governments direct but all such houses have to be sold either outright or on a hire purchase basis to co-operatives or individuals

(iii) the grant of assistance to local bodies for constructing houses for allotment to their low paid employees on payment of rent Loan assistance in this case also will be limited to 80% of the cost of the house but subject to a maximum of Rs 2 800 only (The total allotment of loans for local bodies for the purpose is not to exceed 25% of the total loan made available to the State Governments under this Scheme)

Assistance is payable in suitable instalments related to the progress of the construction

2 The total loan allocations made to 25 State Governments so far for the remaining period of the First Five Year Plan i e upto the end of March 1956 amount to Rs 2108 2 lakhs Against these allocations a sum of Rs 606 2 lakhs has been actually paid to the various State Governments as loan till the end of

December, 1955 The loan allocations and disbursements made to the different State Governments are shown in the statement attached as Appendix I

3 MIDDLE INCOME GROUP HOUSING SCHEME

A separate scheme for the grant of house building loans to the middle income groups has been under consideration of Government of India The basic feature of this scheme is that a major portion of the finances required for the purpose will be provided by the Insurance Companies who will also operate the scheme themselves in appropriate association with Government The amount of loan will be limited to 80% of the cost of land and building subject to a maximum of Rs 25,000 - It is hoped that the final scheme will be announced and implemented within the next few months

4 SLUM-CLEARANCE AND SWEEPERS' HOUSING

The question of slum clearance and sweepers' housing had been engaging the attention of Government of India for quite some time, but it was not possible to do anything tangible on account of the fact that the low rent paying capacity of slum dwellers and sweepers called for heavy subsidies which could not be made available during the first Plan period because of competing claims of other development schemes on the limited resources available

It has now been decided, however, to make a beginning in these fields with a provision of Rs 20 crores in the Second Five Year Plan As slum clearance and sweepers' housing are essentially a local responsibility the pattern of financial assistance proposed is —(i) 25% of the cost to be given by the Centre as subsidy with an equal amount to be found by the State Governments as a matching subsidy, and (ii) the balance 50% of the cost to be advanced by the Centre as loan

It is realised that this modest provision which the Centre has been able to set apart for the purpose is hardly adequate to deal effectively with the problem, but it does represent an advance on the current state of affairs and it is hoped that some of the worst slums at least in the larger towns will have been cleared by the end of the next Plan Much will of course depend on the enthusiasm that the State Governments may evince in the formulation of their slum clearance and sweepers' housing programmes with the aid now proposed to be made available It must however not be forgotten that the construction of tenements for industrial workers under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme also contributes in some measure in the clearance of slums, particularly in industrial towns

5 PLANTATION LABOUR HOUSING SCHEME

Even though the Plantation Labour Act, 1951 makes it obligatory on every employer to provide and maintain for all workers and their families residing in plantations, necessary housing accommodation, most of the planters particularly the smaller ones, could not fulfil their obligations mainly on account of inadequate financial resources In response to their demand for central assistance, a Plantation Labour Housing Scheme has now been drawn up for implementation during the Second Five-Year Plan, and a provision of Rs 2 crores has been made in the Plan for the purpose Assistance is proposed to be given to planters through State Governments in the shape of interest bearing loans, to the extent of 80% of the cost of houses, on much the same lines as contained in the Low Income Group Housing Scheme

6 RURAL HOUSING

Rural Housing is essentially the responsibility of the State Governments as has been indicated in the Five Year Plan The role of the Centre is purely advisory in character which restricts the responsibility to

the extent of giving a lead in the matter of rural housing development In consonance with the objectives of such a role, a Rural Cell has been established in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, with a Housing Adviser and a small nucleus staff for the purpose of giving technical assistance and advice to the C P A, the various State Governments and other interested authorities The Cell has been functioning for nearly two years now and within this period, it has been possible for it to publish a Draft Manual on Rural Housing, containing various type designs for residential units, lay-out plans for villages, Panchayat Ghars, wells, latrines, health centres etc with short notes on construction and building materials The Rural Cell has also been giving technical advice and assistance to various authorities over the country Among the items of work carried out by the Cell, the following are particularly noteworthy —

A design for village chora (Community meeting place) prepared for the Community Project Administration, type designs for an extension training centre in the Mechanised Farm at Bhopal, prepared for the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, a plan for single-roomed and two-roomed rural houses along with specifications and costs prepared and forwarded to Backward Classes Commission lay out plans for training centre and type designs for residential houses, together with advice and necessary information to Literacy House, Allahabad, a philanthropic organisation devoted to the cause of promoting adult literacy efforts to help the Resettlement Section of the Ministry of Defence, information and advice to Principal Engineering Officer, Rewa, Project Execution Officer, Sumerpur etc etc

The development of certain model villages in the Community Project and N E S Blocks on aided self help basis, has been taken on hand As a pilot project, the development of Shamspur in Punjab, Alampur in PEPSU, Akola in U P and Sundravali in Rajasthan are being considered first Designs, lay outs etc have been prepared in consultation with local authorities, work in Shamspur is already in progress after completion of all initial arrangements, work is expected to start shortly in Alampur, and as regards the other two villages the matter is under correspondence with the State Governments concerned If the experiment is successful, it is hoped that these model villages will provide the necessary impetus and initiative for the villagers and local authorities in contiguous areas and elsewhere for improvement of housing conditions in rural areas

As things stand, it does not seem to be possible for the Centre to give financial aid in any considerable measure Nevertheless, some assistance is being provided in the shape of loans under the aided self-help programme of the C P A and since many of the villagers happen to be Harijans or belong to other backward classes, they are entitled to some measure of financial assistance in the shape of Grants-in aid administered by the Ministery of Home Affairs (Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) In the Second Five-Year Plan, a modest provision of Rs 5 crores has been made to be advanced by the Centre in the shape of loans to villagers, through C P A or State Governments, towards development of model villages

7 NATIONAL BUILDINGS ORGANISATION

One of the important problems facing Government, so far as Housing is concerned, is the reduction of building costs which are admittedly very high at present The National Buildings Organisation set up by the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply in July 1954, is intended to provide the means and machinery for achieving this end, as far as possible The essential functions of this Organisation are to collect and disseminate useful information on building science, techniques and materials, formulation and co ordination of research problems on cheaper and better building materials and techniques, standardisation of building legislation, bye laws, techniques and materials etc Since the field of activity is vast and complicated, pro-

Appendix I.

LOW INCOME GROUP HOUSING SCHEME

Latest position as on 31-12-1955.

S No	Name of the State Government	Amount sanctioned (in lakhs Rs)	Amount disbursed so far (in lakhs)
1	Punjab	300.0	221.0
2	Uttar Pradesh	300.0	65.0
3	Bombay	225.0	—
4	West Bengal	200.0	40.0
5	Madhya Pradesh	151.0	65.1
6	Madras	81.0	17.74
7	Andhra	74.0	10.0
8	Bihar	10.0	2.7
9	Assam	10.0	—
10	Orissa	3.0	—
11	Rajasthan	100.0	20.0
12	Mysore	100.0	10.0
13	Hyderabad	100.0	10.0
14	Madhya Bharat	70.0	23.33
15	PEPSU	41.0	41.0
16	Saurashtra	25.0	5.0
17	Travancore Cochin	15.0	3.0
18	Jammu & Kashmir	35.0	—
19	Delhi	200.0	55.0
20	Ajmer	20.0	4.0
21	Himachal Pradesh	20.0	5.0
22	Bhopal	10.0	4.25
23	Vindhya Pradesh	9.0	4.50
24	Coorg	6.0	—
25	Kutch	3.2	—
	Total	2108.2	606.62

gress is bound to be slow. Notwithstanding initial difficulties, the organisation is at present engaged in a number of activities, in fulfilment of its objectives The following are noteworthy examples N B O *Journal*, which came into existence in December 1955, will be of considerable educative value to those who are interested in the building trade and practice, *Development of Gypsum as a building material*—the experimental manufacture of Gypsum Boards (on cottage industry basis) undertaken by the N B O and the investigations of a Working Group on Development of Gypsum: Experimental Manufacture of Hollow bricks efforts to standardise certain building materials in collaboration with the I S.I. etc





Bakshı Ghulam Mohammad
Prıı ıe Mınıster Ja ı u and Kash ır State

KASHMIR ON THE ROAD TO PROSPERITY

A MENTION of Kashmir conjures up in our minds the picture of a land of beauty, peace and plenty From ancient times it is associated with soft, beautiful shawls, fragrant saffron and luscious fruit The snow-capped mountains which send down cool breezes to the Valley below, the rich forests of pine and deodar, the peaceful meadows, calm and placid lakes with luxurious houseboats and cosy shikaras playing over their silken waters, and the broad bosomed *Jhelum* winding her leisurely way from Anantnag to Baramula, have all been the themes of poets and writers from time immemorial

But there is another side to this picture—ugly and grim Poverty and ignorance stalk this "land in the womb of the Himalayas" The State does not comprise only the famous Valley To its north lie the arid regions of Ladakh with large tracts of mountainous table-land no part of which is less than 12,000 ft above sea level. Inhabited by people belonging to the Mongol race Ladakh has its own problems—social and economic To the south of the Valley is the Jammu province inhabited by the brave Dogras Comprising undulating hills and a few side-valleys, it is a region of scanty rainfall and has no irrigational facilities Though possessing mineral wealth, no attempt has so far been made to exploit it

The insulated nature of the State adds enormously to the problems *facing its various regions Surrounded by the mighty Himalayas in the* North, the Karakoram in the West and the Pir Panjal in the South, the State is difficult of access, particularly during the winter months It was only in the beginning of the present century that the Valley was opened to wheeled traffic when two roads, the Jhelum Valley and the Banihal were built But even then Ladakh and *portions of Jammu remained cut off* No wonder that in times of scarcity there was a fearful loss of human life

Over a hundred years ago the State was consolidated into one political unit by Maharaja Gulab Singh For centuries each part of the State had seen political domination by ruthless conquerors, with the

HEROES OF KASHMIR FRONT



L t It Ranjit Rai



Late Brig Usman



Capt R R Rane, PVC



CHM Peru Singh, PVC

result that the people were reduced to the lowest depths of poverty and ignorance But they never lost their moorings Although belonging to different ethnic, religious and linguistic divisions they retained a strong cohesion cemented closer by adversity and suppression

Fettered by numerous social and political evils, the people of this State have been eking out a precarious existence for centuries past To raise their standard of life calls for an intensive effort by the Government and the people themselves Each region has its own economy Ladakh being on the caravan route between India and Central Asia and Tibet depends mainly upon the entrepot trade passing through it Besides this the people there are engaged in cultivating a few patches of land irrigated by rivulets here and there Sheep breeding and wool trade is also a source of income to a good portion of its population

The people living in the Valley proper depend mainly on agriculture—80% of its population being engaged in it The agricultural system is primitive and all efforts at improving it in the past were hampered by the apathy and ignorance of the cultivators and a class of landlords who appropriated major portion of the produce to themselves

The rest of the people are engaged in production of art goods like shawls, wood-carving, papier machie, carpets, etc A large proportion of the urban population and boatmen depend on the increasing tourist traffic to the Valley

In Jammu the Rajputs take to soldiering and used to be enlisted in large numbers in the State and British Indian armies For the rest of the people agriculture is the main occupation

Occasional surveys have, however, revealed that Jammu province is rich in coal and lignite There is also a possibility of iron ore being found there

Struggle for Freedom

To fight poverty and ignorance, the first requisite was the attainment of political freedom Influenced by the freedom struggle in India carried on under the leadership of the Congress, Kashmiris rose against the rule of the Maharaja in 1931 Thanks to their broad nationalistic outlook, result no doubt of a composite cultural heritage, the movement was directed early into healthy channels In 1939 the National Conference came into existence and received the blessings of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru who attended its inaugural session

By 1946 the National Conference was a strong force When as a result of their heroic struggle, the people of the State were hopefully looking forward to a peaceful transfer of power to them, they were suddenly called upon to face a new danger from quite an unexpected direction

Seized by ambition to acquire the State by force of arms, Pakistan encouraged and abetted a ruthless invasion of the State by tribesmen in October 1947 Happenings of the two eventful years which saw the heroic deeds of the Indian Armed Forces in repelling this attack and saving the people of the State from fire and sword are still fresh in our minds The invasion turned Kashmir into a theatre of war resulting in the destruction of life and property and what was more unfortunate created the problem of the rehabilitation of a huge number of displaced persons from the Pak-occupied areas of the State Roads and bridges were destroyed and dislocation in trade and agriculture took place in large areas The tourist traffic was dead, adding to the alreadv heavy problems which faced the people and the Government

With the cease fire agreement in 1949, the popular Government in Kashmir had a breathing time to chalk out a programme of rehabilitation and reconstruction But feeling of uncertainty about the future of the State weighed heavily upon the minds of the people and produced unhealthy trends Communal



L/Nk Karan Singh PVC



Soldiers crossing the stream by Rubber Bo



The advance in face of heavy fire



Tanks in action in Zoji la

(c) There will be no discrimination on grounds of religion, caste, sex place of birth, etc but the State Legislature will have the right to make special provisions for the advancement of the socially and educationally backward classes of citizens

(d) All the citizens living within the State will have the right to freedom of speech and expression, to assemble peacefully and without arms, to form associations or unions, to move freely throughout the Indian territory, to settle in any part of the Union, to acquire or dispose of property and to practise any profession

(e) The people of the State will have the right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of Fundamental Rights

(f) No existing law in force in the State and no law to be enacted hereafter by the State Legislature defining the classes and persons who are the permanent residents of the State or conferring on them special rights and privileges in respect of employment under the State Government or in relation to the acquisition of immovable property in the State, settlement in the State or rights of scholarship etc can be affected by any provisions of the Union Constitution

(g) The executive powers of the Union shall not extend to certain matters pertaining to the State with respect to which the Union Parliament normally has the power to make laws as this right has been granted to the State Legislature

(h) Appeals shall lie to the Supreme Court from any judgement, final order or sentence passed as a result of the criminal proceedings by the State High Court of Judicature

(i) No proclamation of emergency made by the Union Government on grounds only of internal disturbance or imminent danger thereof can have effect in relation to the Jammu and Kashmir State unless it is made either at the request of or with the concurrence of the State Government

(j) Provisions of the Union Constitution in regard to official language will apply to the State only so far as they relate to ——

(i) Official languages of the Union

(ii) Official languages for communication between the State and another State or between the State and the Union , and

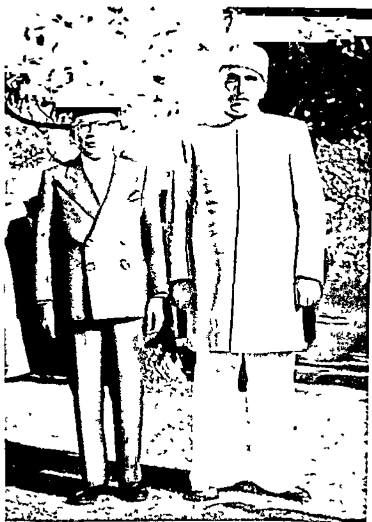
(iii) the language of the proceedings in the Supreme Court

The Constituent Assembly the supreme representative organ of the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State, has thus ratified the State's accession to India and settled once for all the question of State's future, in exercise of its soverign right This decision which is in full accord with the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir has put an end to all doubts and uncertainty created by the policies of previous leadership which sought deliberately to leave the State's relationship with India in a state of flux The State has, thus, been assured political stability by constitutional validity being accorded to its association with the Union of India At the same time, the scope and quantum of accession has been concretely defined to secure an advantageous position for the growth and progress of the people of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with their aspirations, cultural traditions and local genius with the active assistance of the people in the rest of India

Financial Arrangements

As a result of these constitutional arrangements it has been possible for the State to secure a special position within the Union These arrangements have made it possible for the Government to come to an agreement with the Government of India in regard to the financial assistance that a constituent State is en-

Dr. Mohd. Hatta in Kashmir



The Vice-President of Indonesia and Bakshi Ghulam Mohd, the Kashmir Premier. Photo taken during the Indonesian leader's visit to Kashmir in November 1955

titled to receive from the Centre These new *financial arrangements arrived at by the present Government* with India with effect from 13th April, 1954, constitute an important link in the ties which now bind Kashmir with India. Apart from releasing substantial funds under the Central services to enable the State to spend more liberally on nation building activities and resulting in abolition of inter State transit duties (against an annual grant of Rs 210 lakhs to compensate the State for the loss of customs revenue) expansion and improvements in integrated services, the new financial arrangements aim at still closer association of the people with the Indian Union The principal features of this policy are

(*a*) Abolition of inter State transit duties (import and export duties levied and collected by the State) on goods entering into or going out of the State

(*b*) Taking over by the Centre the customs duties on exports from and imports into the State previously collected by the Government of India and made over to the State Government *in accordance with old treaty arrangement*

(*c*) Taking over by the Centre, taxes on income other than agricultural income, excise duties on tobacco and certain other goods

(*d*) Administration by the Centre of certain departments like Telegraphs and Telephones, Broadcasting and Meteorology

(*e*) Taking over by the Centre of the responsibility to maintain the Madhopur Jammu Srinagar Uri road as a national highway

(*f*) *Maintenance by the Centre of the State Forces already taken over by them from 1st of* September, 1949

(*g*) Taking over by the Centre the whole of the staff of the transferred departments or such part of the staff of composite departments as relates to Union functions on terms and conditions not less favourable than those admissible to the officials concerned previously

(*h*) Taking over by the Centre of such staff of the composite departments as may be rendered surplus to requirements subject to suitability

(*i*) The grant to the State Government by the Centre *of an annual* subsidy of Rs 210 lakhs to compensate the State for the loss of revenue as a result of the transfer of certain departments and revenues to the Centre and the abolition of inter state transit duties etc This grant has been raised to Rs 250 lakhs by the Centre for the adjustment of the resultant budgetary position

(*j*) *Grant of loans and other forms of assistance to State for approved development plans and the schemes*

As a consequence of these far reaching measures prospects of immediate economic recovery have considerably brightened Besides affording substantial relief to the common man in terms of reduction in prices, these measures have given an impetus to increased flow of trade and commerce opening fresh avenues of employment and work for the people The cramping controls on private enterprise have been relaxed resulting in greater economic activity

Food Problem Solved

But it is on the food front that the new Government won a tremendous success The problem of food is the most urgent problem for the State in view of the extremely limited area available for cultivation Before August 1953 a rise of 500 to 600 per cent had been registered *in the prices of foodgrains* The system of *mujawaza* had eaten into the very vitals of the peasant, and anti social elements, such as the grain dealer and corrupt Government official, were thriving at the cost of both the cultivator and the consumer

The new Government took a bold step On the one hand, it increased the rationed scale of the people living in towns and cities and, on the other, offered a higher price to the producer cultivator for his grain which was to be distributed among the citizens So that there may not be a shortage of foodgrains, the new Government imported 12 lakh maunds of rice from India to be supplied at reduced rates to the consumers in the city of Srinagar and outside All these measures had an electrifying effect For the first time in the last 10 years people had enough to eat and that too at cheap rates The compulsory food levy was abolished This freed the peasant from an iniquitous system which used to force him to purchase grains at exhorbitant prices in the black market in order to meet the demands of the State Collector Far-flung areas of the State received grain at cheap rates and there was removed from the hearts of the people a burden weighing upon them for years past

First Five-Year Plan

The Jammu & Kashmir State had initially prepared a five-year plan for the period 1953-54 to 1957-58 At a preliminary discussion between the Planning Commission and representatives of the Jammu & Kashmir Government it was agreed that this Plan should be recast for the same period as India's Five Year Plan, namely, 1951-52 to 1955 56 The total size of this revised Plan was fixed at Rs 13 crore to consist of

(*a*) Banihal tunnel—Rs 3 crore ,

(*b*) development works to be financed out of the Central assistance—Rs 7 crore , and

(*c*) development works to be financed out of the revenues of the State—Rs 3 crore

But in spite of these opportunities and resources being made available, the previous Government did not show sufficient zeal to utilize them properly for the development of the State Till August 1953, large amounts from the funds were diverted towards unproductive channels

Soon after the assumption of office by the new Government, conventions were called in different parts of the State in which the representatives of the people were afforded fullest opportunities of suggesting whatever additional works of public utility they had in view relating to their respective areas As a result, the Plan was revised and expenditure involved on the schemes to be financed out of the Central assistance rose from Rs 700 to Rs 879 45 lakh Similarly, the cost of development works for which funds were to be provided by the State Government went up to Rs 384 1 lakh

Power Projects

The Plan provided Rs 250 19 lakh for power projects exclusive of the amounts spent during the pre Plan period These projects were intended to cover not only the valley of Kashmir but large areas in the Jammu province where power is urgently needed for supply of drinking water besides lighting, irrigational and industrial purposes These projects were

(*a*) Sind Valley Hydro electric Project—Rs 201 68 lakh ,

(*b*) Jogindernagar Power Project—Rs 28 50 lakh , and

(*c*) Udhampur Power Scheme—7 87 lakh

The Sind Valley Hydro electric Power Project has now been completed and is designed to generate, in the first instance, 60,000 kwt of electricity and to irrigate nearly 3,000 acres The Plan envisages the expansion of the scheme to generate 15,000 kwt which would meet the demand of the Valley for the next 25 years

The Jogindernager Power Project which has already been completed ensures bulk supply of power to Jammu by purchase from Jogindernagar Power House Three main receiving stations have been installed between Pathankot and Jammu for carriage and distribution over a transmission line extending over 70 miles and capable of carrying 5,000 kwt of power This transmission system was laid at a cost of Rs 39 03 lakh Jammu city is now receiving 1,500 kwt of power from Jogindernagar and negotiations for purchase of 2,000 kwt more are in progress The power thus obtained will be utilised for lifting water from tube-wells in the Kandi areas, for cottage industries and domestic purposes

The Udhampur Scheme will similarly benefit a large area in the Jammu province and give an impetus to greater economic activity in these far flung parts of the State Lines will be laid and power transmitted to the sites of tube wells already sunk or those being sunk in 1955-56 in the Kandi area in the Jammu province

Communications

The State being largely mountainous has a poor road system inasmuch as only 2 5 miles of road existed per 1000 sq miles of the area of the State before 1951 During the years since August 1953, 425 miles of new roads were laid, 482 miles of existing roads were improved and earth-work for improving existing roads was completed for 252 miles more About 7,000 feet of new major bridges will have been constructed by the end of the First Five-Year Plan

Community Projects

In order that the community may be awakened to its needs, the Five Year Plan envisages, among other things, the development of an intensive type in certain selected rural areas The State was allotted one Community Project which was divided into 3 blocks, *viz*, Badgam (Kashmir) Mansar (Jammu) and Ladakh The aggregate allotment of Rs 50 lakh made for the purpose was distributed for improvements in agriculture veterinary, health, education, forests, roads, etc It will be rather long to give a detailed account of the improvement already effected but suffice it to say the people living in the 3 blocks have acquired a new outlook and are looking forward to a life of peace and prosperity

Irrigation Schemes

With a vast area of mountainous terrain, Jammu & Kashmir State has an incredibly small fraction of cultivable land available Even this limited area was not exploited properly for the purpose of producing foodgrains

Soon after August 1953 the Government reviewed the irrigational plans prepared under the previous administration and, as a result, the objective was defined to include not only extension of cultivable area but intensive cultivation of the area already under cultivation through the introduction of proper seeds and fertilizers An area of about 8,000 acres was proposed to be brought under cultivation by lift irrigation at Padgampore, 16 miles from Srinagar on the Srinagar Jammu road

This Lift Irrigation Project consists of 17 diesel pumps capable of irrigating an area of 3,000 acres of *barani* land The average produce yielded by the cultivation of this area is about 9,000 maunds of paddy

Besides this, gravity irrigation projects have been launched in widespread areas in Jammu as well as in Kashmir Apart from building new canals, repairing of older ones was taken up In terms of expenditure, the provision for the irrigation works in the Budget of 1954 55 stands at 39 85 lakh Already 18,600 acres of land have been brought under irrigation resulting in an increase of about 3 lakh maunds of paddy in *kharif* 1954 55 Five thousand additional acres of land are expected to be irrigated as a result of the completion of canals on which work is in progress This will yield 1 6 lakh maunds of more paddy

Flood Control

The Kashmir Valley has had flood visitation almost every year for some time past It was considered essential to bring into operation flood protection schemes prepared by experienced engineers in the past Accordingly, a number of works necessary for flood control and drainage have, in consultation with the Government of India experts, been undertaken and are estimated to cost Rs 2 5 crore spread over a period of 3 years The first phase of the Project which was completed in September 1955, involved an expenditure of Rs 60 lakh approximately on the following works —

(*a*) digging of channels from the flood channel to the Wular Lake ,

(*b*) stablization of hill torrents in northern Kashmir , and

(*c*) reconstruction of Baramulla bridge, and Nangal Nalla diversion

Supply of Drinking Water

Water Supply Schemes are expected to be completed in eight towns namely, Pampore, Bijbehara, Bhaderwah, Old Nowshera, Doru, Qazigund, Reasi and Leh Tube wells have been sunk at 8 places in the Kandi area By the end of March 1956 the number of tube-wells will have risen to 16 Four pumping stations have been installed at Raya, Ghagwel, Sallen and Lakhanpur About 25 lakh gallons of water was distributed through tankers in the Kandi area, thus relieving the distress of over a lakh of people and about 50,000 cattle population of the villages lying between Akhnoor and Lakhanpur which depend for their drinking water requirements on village ponds which generally go dry during summer

Refugee Rehabilitation

The problem of resettlement of refugees although partly solved with the assistance received from the Government of India presented numerous difficulties when the new Government came to office A large population of D P's who depended mostly on agriculture were still without land and were living a precarious life in temporary camps on insufficient doles allowed to them The new Government allotted to such D Ps sufficient land to maintain their families and made cash grants of Rs 1,000/- per family for building huts and purchasing agricultural implements For displaced persons following occupations other than agriculture, colonies were built and they were also given cash grants to start small-scale cottage industries and settle themselves in business Dispensaries and Primary and Middle Schools were opened in areas inhabited by displaced persons , and preference was given to displaced person candidates over others in the matter of recruitment to services, qualification and merit being equal Deposits and other dues payable by the Panchayat and P W Departments and the Jammu and Kashmir Bank were immediately made to the displaced persons

Tourist Industry

The tourist industry which had been hard hit as a result of partition has, thanks to the measures adopted by the present Government, not only been revived but has broken all previous records This year more than 17,000 visitors came to Kashmir resulting in a brisk trade for hotel keepers, house boat owners, manufacturers of art goods and lots of other people engaged in different trades No doubt the removal of political uncertainty and the restoration of peaceful atmosphere in the State was largely responsible for this healthy development, but the other measures taken by the Government were no less responsible for it Mention may be particularly made of the concessions in fare by the Indian Railways, the Air Lines and the State and private bus services and speedy redress of the complaints made by the tourists against boatmen, hawkers, etc Provision of more accommodation in Dak Bungalows and Rest Houses, improving huts at Gulmarg and shelter-huts at some of the tourist resorts, are some of the amenities provided by the present

Government In fact a tourist is now made to feel at home in Kashmir and every possible effort is being made to make his stay comfortable and enjoyable

Industries

A concerted effort is being made by the present Government to promote greater production so as to raise the earning capacity of workers to enable them to improve their living conditions

The State owned Silk and Woollen factories received special attention of the Government and thanks to the improvements effected in the quality and quantity of goods manufactured by these it was possible to earn substantial profits, enabling the Government to declare a bonus to the workers and to provide greater amenities to them

Similarly considerable improvement has been effected in the working of the State Emporia in various cities of India New Production centres were opened providing employment to a large number of craftsmen

A new concern, the Government Joinery Mill at Pampore, went into operation It had an initial success inasmuch as goods worth 35 lakh were sold in the first year of its working Following small scale industries have also been established

(1) Paint Factory
(2) Handloom Production Centre at Hiranagar
(3) Pashmina Centre at Bahsohli
(4) Bamboo Centre, Bahsohli
(5) Hand made Paper Centre, Miran Sahib
(6) Four Handloom Weaving Centres
  (*a*) Woollen Centre, Kishtwar ,
  (*b*) Woollen Centres, Ramnagar and
  (*c*) Cotton Centre, Samba
(7) Walnut Wood Seasoning

Students from the State are receiving training in clay modelling, basketry, book binding and weaving in different parts of India A factory is being organized in Srinagar for the manufacture of surgical instruments for which there is a local market A Central Dye House is proposed to be established during 1955-56 where yarn will be dyed on scientific lines in fast colours and at cheap rates for the artisans and craftsmen of the weaving industry A Knitting factory is proposed to be set up during 1955 56 for the manufacture of socks gloves jersies, pullovers, etc for which the yarn will be prepared by the Government Woollen Mills A tile making machinery is expected to start functioning by the end of the First Five Year Plan period Clay of good quality is available in the State in abundance The tiles can be used with advantage for roofs of the buildings instead of wooden shingles A Central Vacuum Unit is proposed to be established during the year 1955 56 for packing walnut kernel for export to foreign countries Stone industry is proposed to be run on scientific lines during the year 1955-56 An experiment carried out in connection with this industry has proved very successful A number of articles such as bowls, ash trays, ink pots, pen holders, cups, saucers, spoon handles, buttons, have been manufactured Raw material for the manufacture of these articles is available in abundance at Phalgam and Vernag in the Kashmir Province A Calendering plant for calendering the cloth produced by handlooms and power looms in the Jammu Province is proposed to be set up at a central place in the Jammu Province

Banihal Tunnel

The main road link with the outside world, the Banihal Cart Road, though considerably improved in recent years, gets blocked for a number of months during the winter when traffic to Kashmir gets suspended

Besides the effect it has on local economy, this interruption in the intercourse with the outside world has given rise to some insularity in the outlook of the people in Kashmir

Since 1953 the question of breaking this barrier has engaged the attention of the Government of India and the State Government As a result what is perhaps the most ambitious project of recent times has been undertaken in the State which will establish an all-weather physical link between the Kashmir Valley and the rest of India A low-level tunnel at Banihal, a mountain of about 9,000 ft in height which for centuries has isolated Kashmir from the outside world is being bored to enable through traffic to ply all the year round The project when completed will not only profoundly affect the outlook and psychology of the people in the Valley, who, for want of easy access to the broader currents of Indian life, have occasionally held themselves aloof, but will also provide a reliable passage for greater flow of trade between Kashmir and India

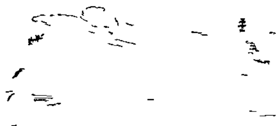
The tunnel will be 1½ miles long and will have two tubes 12 ft wide and will take three years to complete It is sited at 73 miles from Srinagar at its South portal The North portal, on the Valley side, will be approached by another road, because it does not fall on the existing B C Road This independent road the construction of which has already been completed, is 5 miles long and takes off from mile 50 of the existing road The North portal will, therefore, be 55 miles by road from Srinagar With the South portal at 73 miles and with an extra length of 1½ miles of the tunnel, the total distance saved will be about 16 miles

The tunnel will be bored at a height of 7,253 feet as there is no heavy snow at that level generally In fact all heavy snow storms at the pass blow at a higher level Boring of the first tube is in progress and on its completion by the end of 1956, work on the second tube will be started

Transport

Along with the boring of the tunnel in Banihal, the Government of India have agreed to take the present rail head at Pathankot to Jammu in three stages which will further facilitate flow of traffic to and from India As a first step towards it, the railway line has been extended to Madhopur, 7 miles from Pathankot

Kashmir, with the aid of the Central Government and cooperation of the people of the rest of India, is waging a fight against immemorial poverty and social evils which have so far fettered the people of this beautiful land



INDIA IN WORLD AFFAIRS

WHEN India entered the international field on August 15, 1947, as a State enjoying sovereign equality with other members of the world community, many foreign observers predicted that her freedom would be of short duration only In their opinion the reason for British unwillingness to grant freedom to India was that the Indians were not capable of governing themselves They frankly expressed the view that chaos and confusion would prevail in the sub continent after the withdrawal of the mighty British army But history was in no mood to oblige those people Although there was some confusion in the country after the achievement of independence, there was no widespread chaos Later events showed that India could tide over this confusion without much difficulty and that she was not only in a position to preserve her freedom, but, by formulating and following a positive foreign policy, she was also able to give a lead to other Asian and African countries in their struggle for the defence and extension of their freedom

At present many may question the wisdom of those who are making the foreign policy of the country, but few will question the fact that India, within eight years after the achievement of her independence has emerged as a significant factor in world affairs This is not surprising because the vastness of the country and the man-power which is at the disposal of the Indian Government, tend to give a prominent place to India in the world Strategically she is so situated that she cannot be ignored in a consideration of any major problem relating to defence, trade or economic development affecting any group of countries in the Asian continent It is well-known that during the two world wars and during the inter-war period, the Indian man power, which Great Britain could mobilize, was a source of great strength to her both in the fight against her enemies and in resisting the struggle for freedom in her colonies Naturally, when India achieved her freedom and her people became the masters of their own destiny, India's status and position in the counsels of the world attracted much attention What was striking was not that India began to

occupy a position in the international field to which her geographical situation and population entitled her, but that she gradually began to exercise her influence in world affairs which was far beyond of what was expected of her This was the result of some historical developments inside and outside the country

INDIA AND WORLD POLITICS BEFORE 1947

Before examining them one should note that although India became an international entity, in the strict sense of the term only on August 15, 1947, she was something more than a mere colony of Britain even before that date The Government of India, even under the British had some, though very few, international relations It was represented independently of the United Kingdom, in many international organizations and conferences India was an original member of the League of Nations and the United Nations There was no doubt that on vital matters of international policy the Indian delegates to these international gatherings did not express a view different from that of the British delegates But on other matters Indian delegates did take some kind of an independent attitude before 1947 During the meetings of the International Labour Organization and other subsidiary bodies it was also usual for the Indian delegates to confer with representatives from other Asian countries, and to hold together whenever an Asian question arose

Although the experience of the Indian Government in the international field was thus limited, free India herself was not a novice in world affairs In a moral though not in a constitutional sense, India secured for herself a definite place in the international sphere even before 1947 The Congress party and the leaders of the Indian National movements had expressed opinions on world affairs since 1920 and had unequivocally made clear India s stand on some important international developments from that date

It is no exaggeration to say that the fundamentals of the foreign policy of Free India directly follow from these opinions and this stand which the leaders of the national movement took even before India became free The attitude of some other Powers towards Independent India was also coloured by the events of an earlier period Referring to this Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observed Because of our past record in India this the anti imperialist record, we have not been *persona grata* with many groups and peoples outside

Pandit Nehru who was responsible more than anyone else for the national movement taking a keen interest in the events outside India has been the architect of India s foreign policy ever since she had a policy When power was assumed by the Indian leaders in New Delhi in September 1946 under a re organised Executive Council of the Governor General Nehru became the Member of External Affairs in the Council At that time he outlined India s foreign policy as follows In the sphere of Foreign Affairs, India will follow an independent policy keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against the other India will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur She will work with other peace loving nations for international co operation and goodwill without exploitation of one nation by another Towards the United Nations, India s attitude is that of whole-hearted co operation and unreserved adherence, in both spirit and letter, to the Charter governing it To that end India will participate fully in its various activities and endeavour to play that role in its councils to which her geographical position population and contribution towards peaceful progress entitle her

When India became free and was partitioned in August 1947, the new Dominion of India inherited the undivided India s international status her membership in the United Nations and assets and liabilities implied in such membership The post partition India also inherited the undivided India s foreign policy

by strictly adhering to the formulations made by Nehru when he was the Vice-President and Member for External Affairs in the Governor General's Executive Council

INDEPENDENT POLICY IN PURSUIT OF PEACE

These formulations on foreign policy became very significant in the context of events of the post war world The most important among them was the division of a large number of states into two distinct and opposing groups, one led by the Soviet Union and the other by the United States This event eclipsed all other developments in the post-war world There were allegations and counter allegations from both sides While the members of the Moscow led groups accused others of being parties, or enchained to Anglo American imperialism", the Soviet Union was accused by others of having attempted to instal totalitarian regimes' everywhere This struggle for supermacy over the world by the two "power blocs" was known as the "cold war", and there were preparations for a hot war Referring to this formation of groups and power blocs in the international field and India's attitude towards them, the Prime Minister repeatedly declared that this country would not join either of them and that she would follow an independent policy This was not a negative or passive policy of neutrality, but a positive approach aimed at promoting peace in the world India's objective was to steer clear of the two blocs and to bridge the gulf between them as far as it lay within her power to do so If the division of a large number of the states into two 'cold war camps was an important development of the post war era, equally important was the decision of India and some other states not to join any of these camps It is this aspect of India's foreign policy which is one of the reasons for India's prominence in the world affairs

No doubt this pursuit of independent foreign policy was partly the result of the conscious decisions made by India's leaders to promote world peace These decisions, it should be emphasised were more or less in accordance with the wishes of the vast majority of the people Justifying the Indian Government's refusal to take sides in the cold war, the Prime Minister said ' Any attempt on our part i e, the Government of the day here, to go too far in one direction would create difficulties in our country It would be resented and would not be helpful to us or to any other country "

Why were the people of India averse to joining any of the power blocs, or as some of them would say, join other people's quarrels? The answer to this question lies in the fact that the basic problems facing the Government of Free India were internal and not external The dominating elements in the Indian political life were fully conscious of the economic weakness of the country and of the gigantic problem of providing her vast population with the necessities of life, like food, cloth and housing Militarily also, India was very weak The infant independent state of India was in 1947 just starting the journey of political consolidation of her independence and economic improvement of her people She could not, at that time, afford to be involved in a major armed conflict or even in a preparation for war

AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

There were also other factors for India's decision not to join any of the power blocs Two major objectives of India's foreign policy were the upholding the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and the opposition to racial discrimination wherever it might be occurring These objectives inevitably follow from India's recent history and from the traditions of her struggle for freedom By these matters, the Government of Free India disagreed, and very often came into conflict, with the Western Powers The worst kind of racial discrimination existed in the Union of South Africa, which was itself dominated by the Westerners, and which was a reliable ally of other Western Powers as far as cold war was concerned In other parts of Africa and in the United States, the white men discriminated against the coloured and thus aroused very strong indignation in India and other Asian countries Under these circumstances it would be diffi-

NO ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET BLOC

If some of these features of India's foreign policy made it difficult for her to ally with the West, owing to some other reasons it was almost impossible for her to ally with the Communist powers in the years immediately following her achievement of independence During 1947-1949 the Soviet foreign policy was so much aimed at winning further conquests for world communism that it was not very enthusiastic of winning the friendship of non-communist states In India as in many other countries, it was feared that the Soviet Union was expansionist and aggressive and the developments connected with the Berlin crisis and the communist capture of power in Czechoslovakia only strengthened that fear It was felt that the Soviet Union was not even prepared to tolerate such a "communist government" as Tito's Government of Yugoslavia because they were not prepared to fall in line with the international communist line In that period the question of India allying with the communist states did not, therefore, arise During 1947-48, the Soviet press, reflecting the spirit of Soviet foreign policy, attacked the Indian Government for its 'reactionary policies" and for its "subservience to Anglo-American imperialism "

The foreign policy, formulated by the Indian Government under these circumstances and followed since then, was firmly based on the principle of non-involvement in power-blocs

INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

The objectives of India's foreign policy in relation to peace, racial equality and the freedom of the dependent peoples were based on high ideals and the attempt to fulfill them were very well appreciated even by those who did not very often see eye to eye with the Indian Government But not so India's relation with Pakistan It was unfortunate that the two newly independent countries of this sub-continent, India and Pakistan, could not always maintain cordial relations and at one stage were even involved in an armed conflict in Kashmir From the Indian standpoint it was still more unfortunate that India's case on Kashmir was never fully understood in many of the foreign countries Kashmir was, of course, not the only issue which marred the relations between the two countries, there were others like the disputes concerning the canal water, the minorities and the property of the evacuees But they were not of a major character and but for the fact that the Kashmir problem over-shadowed them all, it would not have been difficult for the two states to come to a negotiated settlement on them

Kashmir was a thorny problem The Pakistanis, who believed that the Hindus and the Muslims were two nations, claimed suzerainty over Kashmir as a matter of right because the majority of the population of that state were Muslims Neither the Indian Government nor the people of India were prepared to accept that view They held that ever since the formal accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union, the defence of that state became India's responsibility The Indian Government hoped that ultimately the people of Kashmir would themselves determine their future by expressing their opinion on the matter through an impartial plebiscite But the invasion of the state by the tribesmen and Pakistan nationals did not create the necessary atmosphere for organising such a plebiscite The reference of the issue to the United Nations also did not help the situation because the discussions in the U N Security Council and the decisions made by that body were mainly influenced by power politics Later it was hoped that a solution to the Kashmir problem would be found by negotiations between the two Governments outside the United Nations However, this was also handicapped by Pakistan's decision to join a military alliance with the United States and other "defence" organizations like S E A D O which were established under Western auspices

This brings us to an important aspect of India's external relations arising from the projection of the cold war into the "peace area" Before examining it in detail, we may make a passing reference to



ndia s connection with the Commonwealth which also is not an insignificant aspect of this country s foreign policy

INDIAN REPUBLIC IN THE COMMONWEALTH

When India, Pakistan and Ceylon became independent states and decided to retain their con[nectio]n with the Commonwealth, the character of the relationship between its different members d[id no]t change very much, but its composition was substantially changed as a result of the entry into it of [cou]ntries of another continent and peoples of a different colour and race whose h[istory] and [tra]d[ition] were different from those of others To India the decision to continue her association with the Commonwealth was not an easy one to make There was no doubt that before 1947 a large section [of the] [poli]tically conscious people of India was hostile to the idea of India maintaining any link with the B[ritish] Commonwealth It was not therefore, surprising that the Indian Constituent Assembly [...] [i]ts meetings made the unilateral decision to give to this country the status of a Rep[ublic] [...] [de]parted from the practice of other Commonwealth countries But there were [...] favoured India s continued association with the Commonwealth Since 1947 the Indian leaders e[njoyed] [f]ull liberty in domestic and external affairs, though India had continued to be a Dominion It [w]as also felt that taking into account India s economic defence and other interests it would be advanta[geo]us to her to continue the link with the Commonwealth Now a question arose how to reconcile India s [rep]ublican status with *her future association with the Commonwealth* ? Finally a new formula and [th]at phrase were invented and India continued to be a member of the Commonwealth even as a republic but she recognized the King as the symbol of her association with the Commonwealth Today it is widely held in India that her link with the Commonwealth has not hindered her in pursuing an independent foreign policy It should also be noted that although there were many differences of opinion between [India] and other members of the Commonwealth on many matters they had found an area of agreement between them on many [s]pecific international issues concerning war and peace In her peace efforts India very often found her hands strengthened by the influence exerted by other Commonwealth countries, and in particular by the United Kingdom, in the international field This was evident when the question of the representation of China came up before the U N when the Indian resolution on the Korean prisoners of war was being discussed in the Assembly and in the opposition to the proposal to use Atom Bombs in Korean war

FREE INDIA FINDS HER FEET

India assumed the republican status in January 1950, when the Constitution drawn by the Indian Constituent Assembly came into effect This year was also an important period in her external relations because it saw the gradual evolution of a mature diplomacy on the part of India There was of course no radical change in the foreign policy *but there was definitely some change in the emphasis on some aspects of it* During 1947 1949 the activities of the Indian diplomats and statesmen in the international field were more or less confined to giving expression to the high ideals for which India stood and to voting in accordance with them in the international conferences. The occasions when the Indian Government did go a few steps further and took the initiative in referring some issues to the United Nations and in suggesting some particular solutions to some of the international problems were rare And these rare occasions referred to issues like Kashmir racial discrimination in South Africa and Indonesia s freedom in which India was vitally interested There were few other questions in the tackling of which India played a prominent role before 1950 It is also noteworthy that all the issues in which India took a keen interest in this period were not directly concerned with the conflicts between the Big Powers and the cold war This and other reasons led many impartial observers of the international scene to conclude that in spite of

India's professions, her independent foreign policy of non-involvement in power-blocs was of not much significance India's retention of the historical connection with the Commonwealth, and her desire to make use of American technical and economic aid for the economic development of the country further strengthened this impression Towards the close of 1949 Lawrence K Rosanger, an American scholar, rightly noted 'In the shadow of two giants India declares independence from both power blocs, but leans towards the West on some important issues'

It is doubtful whether anyone will now make an identical comment about India's foreign policy Since 1950, and particularly in the past two years, the independence exercised by India in the formulation of her foreign policy and in its implementation is widely recognized even in those quarters where it is regretted The declaration of the Indian Government, that they would follow an independent foreign policy and would take all steps for furthering the cause of world peace, was no more the mere expression of a vague desire but the basis of India's concrete actions This change in emphasis in Indian foreign policy was partly the result of the fast moving events of the world With the outbreak of war in Korea in June 1950 it was clear that the struggle for supermacy in the world was no more confined to waging a cold war with the entry of the Chinese People's Republic into the Korean conflict it was even feared that there would be another world war Korea also brought home the fact to all concerned that the power which the communist states could mobilize in the event of a major armed conflict was more or less equal to the power which was at the disposal of the Western Powers It also became widely known that the atom bombs and hydrogen bombs were no more the monopoly of any one of the two power-blocs All these features of the world situation made even the thought of a major world war horrible and it almost became imperative for countries like India, which were uncommitted to either of the blocs, to exercise their influence for easing the international situation

Since 1951 the internal situation in the country did not hinder India playing a prominent role in international affairs The political stability which this country began to enjoy and the steady, though slow, improvement which was taking place in the economic sphere, stood in contrast with the state of affairs of India before 1950 and that which existed in many other Asian countries generally in the post-war era There were many factors which created this situation in India The peaceful nature of the transfer of power from the British to Indian hands made it possible for the government of independent India to start their career with the help of an experienced civil service and a well organized army The people of India had some kind of a limited experience in self government and parliamentary democracy It was, therefore, possible for India to work out the political system envisaged in India's Constitution The presence in the political field of a well organized Congress party, which led the national movement for freedom, and some national leaders, who commanded respect from all sections of the people, was a tremendous factor in favour of stabilising the situation in India One of the greatest of Free India's achievements was the general election of 1950-51 The electorate was 170 million people, three fourths of whom were illiterate The polling was heavy These elections, by returning the Congress party to power, gave some security to it Much more than that, they ensured some stability for the existing political structure in India because the elections were conducted impartially, efficiently and without any major incident In 1950 the Indian Government also took steps to reorganise the country's economic life In that year they appointed a Planning Commission to assess India's resources and to formulate a plan for their most effective and balanced utilization These developments in the political and economic fields assured some stability and unity inside the country and contributed to a rise in the prestige of the Government headed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru under whose auspices they took place

As we saw, the tense situation in the world demanded positive action in favour of peace on the part of those who were uncommitted to either of the power blocs And we also saw that the internal situation

in India allowed the government of the country to face the rest of the work with some self confidence and to take an active part in world affairs Under Nehru's leadership the Indian Government did take that active part and this in turn raised the prestige of the Indian Prime Minister still higher in the minds of the people Few other actions of the Indian Government were as much supported by the people as those taken in the international field They had a certain pride in their Government which followed a foreign policy, independent of the power blocs, with its firm stand in favour of world peace

INDIA'S APPROACH TOWARDS FAR EASTERN PROBLEMS

Now let us examine some of the specific acts of the Indian Government in the international field One of the most significant among them was the attitude they adopted towards Communist China With the defeat of Chiang Kai shek's forces and the establishment of the People's Republic under Communist auspices in China in 1949 the Indian Government realised that a major political and military power had emerged in the Far East—a power which could not be ignored by those who were concerned with that region India very soon hurried herself to recognize the new regime and to establish diplomatic and friendly relations with it The United Kingdom and some other states also recognized it without much delay But the United States and, under her leadership, a large number of other states not only refused to do so but also opposed the new Government's claim to represent China in the United Nations and elsewhere Since then, the question of the international status of this Government became a source of disagreement and sometimes one of friction between the United States and this country The Indian view was that as a member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council China had certain obligations to fulfil and to carry out these obligations , the Government representing China must therefore have effective control over the territory and people of China It is the Communist Government that could discharge China's duties and obligations under the Charter and therefore they could not be denied the right to be represented in the United Nations The Indian delegates in the U N General Assembly also emphasised the considerations dictated by common sense and indisputable general principles of law The question to be considered was whether the new Government was sufficiently stable, exercised effective authority over the territory concerned, and was obeyed by the majority of the people If the stability was present in a particular state, the Government of that state was entitled to be recognized by the United Nations India contended that if it should be later established that the Government in question was violating the provisions of the Charter and failing to observe human rights and fundamental freedoms, then the U N Assembly could act in accordance with the steps laid down in the Charter

Many in India were not only prepared to recognize the Communist Government in China as an accomplished fact but also welcomed it as a desirable change from the corrupt regime of Chiang Kai shek They saw that the communists in China had achieved freedom from foreign control, the unification of the country, and the establishment of a single, unchallenged authority over the entire territory of the state They were, therefore, eager to establish close and friendly relations with China

On the future status of Japan also India held very strong views She was opposed to the Peace Treaty signed at San Francisco because it included a provision which suggested that the armed forces which remained in Japan, when she was under occupation might stay on in that country as part of a defensive agreement with the U S The Indian Government maintained that such an agreement, concluded along with the Peace Treaty gave the impression that it did not represent a decision taken by Japan in the full enjoyment of her freedom as a sovereign nation India, therefore, concluded a separate Peace Treaty with Japan

INDIA'S PEACE EFFORTS IN KOREA

Another Far Eastern development with which India was later associated was the Korean war As soon as the war started in Korea in June 1950 the Indian Government tried their level best to bring peace to that unfortunate country On July 12, 1950, India's Prime Minister sent identical personal messages to Soviet Premier Stalin, and American Secretary of State, Acheson, urging a speedy and peaceful settlement of the Korean dispute The message ran ' India's purpose is to localise the conflict and to facilitate early peaceful settlement by breaking present deadlock in the Security Council, so that representatives of People's Government of China can take seat in the Council, the U S S R can return to it, and, whether within or through informal contacts outside the Council, U S A , U S S R and China, with the help and co operation of other peace-loving nations, can find basis for terminating conflicts and for peaceful solution of the Korean problem "

India's anxiety to localise the war in Korea and to lessen the tension in the Far East was evident on many other occasions also When the United Nations forces reached the 38th parallel, the General Assembly, by a resolution implicitly endorsed the American attempt to unify the two Koreas by arms The Indian Government realised the gravity of this resolution and their delegate told the U N General Assembly that India fears that the result may be to prolong North Korean resistance, and even to extend the area of conflict He added that India viewed with the greatest misgivings the Assembly's decision to sanction the crossing of the parallel by the United Nations forces India took an almost identical stand when the General Assembly adopted a resolution branding Communist China an aggressor in Korea Opposing that resolution the Indian delegate stated that once it was adopted, there was not much hope of a negotiated settlement of the Korean dispute

At first India did not receive much support from other U N members for the policy she adopted in the U N on these matters Later, however, some other states joined her in making efforts to bringing a negotiated settlement of the Far Eastern disputes On 12 December 1950, India, along with other Arab-Asian states submitted a resolution requesting the President of the Assembly to constitute a group of three persons to determine the basis for a cease fire and to make recommendations to the Assembly as a whole Such a group was eventually constituted and B N Rao, the leader of the Indian delegation, was chosen as one of its members This group in general, and the Indian delegate in particular, tried their level best to find out a peaceful settlement of the dispute Unfortunately *most of these efforts of the Indian Government* did not lead to the desired results But they were successful in mobilizing an important section of the Arab Asian states and some Commonwealth states in favour of the proposals put forward by India And they also led to a gradual emergence of India as a conciliator, if not as a mediator, as far as the conflicts between the Big Powers were concerned This made it possible for her to make the greatest contribution towards peace by first suggesting a solution to the problem of the Korean prisoners of war and later by acting as the Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, which took charge of the prisoners

It is too early to assess India's role in Indo China But even now it can be said that the important part played by India in the Geneva Conference of 1954 and in the International Commission on Indo China can also be traced to the reputation she enjoyed as a neutral in the cold war

THE UNITED NATIONS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

From India's stand on questions of war and peace follows her attitude towards the United Nations' role in settling of international disputes She was basically opposed to the American attempts to make the United Nations an executive agent of an anti Communist alliance It was felt in this country that the carrying out of the enforcement functions by the U N against the opposition of a major power would disrupt,

rather than strengthen, the world organization In the opinion of the Indian Government the international situation demanded an emphasis on the mediatory, rather than the enforcement, functions of the United Nations A war led by one bloc of powers against another bloc, even if it were waged in the name of the United Nations, would only lead to world-wide destruction and not to the settlement of the international disputes This concept of the U N as primarily a machinery for negotiation, conciliation and mediation was only an extension of India's policy of developing a " peace area " into the field of international organization and it naturally came into conflict with those who considered the U N as a weapon in the cold war armoury.

THE PEACE AREA AND THE COLD WAR

The concept of peace arose from India's determination to follow vigorously her policy of keeping away from the power blocs and of promoting world peace, especially since 1950 when the world came very near another major war In this period the Indian Prime Minister began to speak about developing and enlarging a peace area Indonesia, Burma and, occasionally, Egypt began to support India in this respect But if India's desire to develop a " peace area " took concrete shape in 1952, so did American attempts to create " situations of strength " and military alliances in Asia The American activities in this field, in the opinion of the Indian Government, led to a projection of cold war into the peace area The Indian spokesman vehemently criticized the proposed establishment of a Middle East Defence Organization and the final establishment of a South East Asian Defence Organization under Western auspices These were considered as interference in the internal affairs of the countries of this region The Government and the people of India also condemned the U S -Pakistan military alliance, which they considered as a menace to India's freedom

THE EMERGENCE OF PANCH SHILA

In glaring contrast with these military alliances stood the Panch Shila, the five principles on which friendly relations between India and China were based These principles are (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty , (2) Non aggression , (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs , (4) Equality and mutual benefit , and (5) Peaceful co existence The Prime Ministers of China and India also believed that if these principles were applied not only between various countries but also in international relations generally, they would form a solid foundation for peace and security and the fears and apprehensions that were existing would give place to a feeling of confidence In a joint statement the Prime Ministers expressed their hope that, in particular, these principles would be applied to the solution of the problems in Indo China

The next step in the same direction was taken at the Asian African Conference held at Bandung, Indonesia, in April 1955 The Conference gave much thought to the question of world peace and viewed with great concern the present state of international tension and the danger of an atomic world war The Conference declared " Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards one another, nations should practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly co-operation " Some of the principles to be accepted as a basis for developing such co-operation were more or less the same as those enunciated in the Panch Shila and they were described as follows " Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations , recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small , abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries , abstention from the use of arrangement of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the Big Powers , abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries ".

THE CONCEPT OF A RESURGENT ASIA

The Asian-African Conference held at Bandung, of which India was one of the sponsors, indicated another aspect of India's foreign policy the interest India showed in the awakening and resurgence in Asia The Asian Relations Conference held at New Delhi in March 1947 was the first international Conference held in Asia to voice the determination of the peoples of the continent to be completely free from foreign domination The conference was a non official and academic one, but in the context of the then existing international situation it became as significant as a conference of governments A large number of the delegates who came to attend the conference represented the dominant national movements of the countries concerned By stating that colonialism was dead in Asia these delegates quickened its ending The similarity of the views expressed at the Conference substantiated the following statement of Pandit Nehru It so happened that we in India convened this Conference, but the idea of such a conference arose simultaneously in many countries of Asia" He also said that the most important thing about the Conference was that it was held By itself it did not achieve much But it did lay the foundation for future co operation between the Asian countries An occasion for such co operation arose in January 1949 when the Netherlands committed the most naked and unabashed aggression" by attempting to destroy the Indonesian republic by force As we have noted already, India at that time convened a conference of Asian States, Australia, Egypt and Ethiopia to discuss the situation arising from it Referring to the attitude of those who had assembled at the Conference, the Ceylon delegate observed ' We are not met here today to decide whether or not a wrong has been done We are met here as those convinced that a wong has been done ' Pandit Nehru the Chairman of the Conference, said "One thing is certain, there can be and will be no surrender to aggression and no acceptance of reimposition of colonial rule" Thus Conference did achieve something By making articulate the Asian and African opinion on the Indonesian question, it exerted a powerful influence on the decisions of the U N Security Council on this matter and thus facilitated the transfer of power from the Dutch to the Indonesian hands under international auspices

The next important landmark in the growth of co operation among the Asian-African states was the formation of the Asian African group in the U N This group did not have a rigid organisation or a permanent secretariat, but its establishment did help the taking of a more or less common attitude on the part of the members of this region in the United Nations on such common problems as colonialism, racial discrimination and on issues of war and peace

This tradition behind the Bandung Conference was described by an Indian authority in the following words ' When, therefore, the Colombo Powers—Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan—met at Colombo in April 1954 to discuss the attitude that they should take towards such problems of common interest as peace in Indo China, the recognition of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the ending of colonialism in Tunisia and Morocco, they were not meeting as strangers, years of co-operation in some form or other between most of the countries in this region had given the idea of Asian-African co operation some place in the public mind, and they were aware of it" The Colombo Powers, who sponsored the Asian-African Conference, had even before the Conference made their influence felt on world affairs On April 18, 1955 President Sukarno of Indonesia proudly told the statesmen assembled at Bandung "I think it is generally recognised that the activity of the Prime Ministers of the sponsoring countries which invited you here had a not unimportant role to play in ending the fighting in Indo China Look, the people of Asia raised their voices and the world listened It was no small victory and no negligible precedent"

The response to the invitation of the Colombo Powers was most encouraging, all the countries invited excepting the Central African Federation found it possible to accept the invitation The countries

which sent their delegates to the Conference represented a majority of the world's population Naturally the decisions made there were of tremendous significance They related to economic, cultural and political matters In regard to economic matters the participating countries agreed to cooperate on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty and recommended that collective action be taken to stabilise international prices of, and demand for, primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and by working together for this purpose in relevant international agencies It was also suggested that the export trade of Asian countries should be diversified as far as possible by the raw materials being processed before export wherever economically feasible

In the cultural field the Asian-African Conference made the following recommendations (1) The acquisition of knowledge of each other's country by the publication of useful monographs, improvement of the study of Asian African history and the establishment of institutes of Asian African studies, (2) cultural exchange—by exchange of cultural missions, teachers, students and books, by arranging festivals of music drama and dancing, and (3) exchange of information by the establishment of news agencies and provision of tele communication facilities

The achievements of the Conference in the political field were not less noteworthy than others We have already noted the Bandung declaration which was more or less based on the *Panch Shila* In addition to signing it, the participants in the Conference supported the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question The Conference deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination prevailing in large regions of Africa and elsewhere, re affirmed the determination of the Asian African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries and pledged itself to use its moral influence to guard against the danger of falling a victim to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it The Conference declared its full support to the principle of self determination of peoples and nations The Asian African states were agreed in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations was an evil and that freedom and independence must be granted to all such peoples In particular the Conference supported the right of the peoples of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria to self determination, supported the position of Indonesia in the case of West Irian, urged the Netherlands Government to re-open negotiations on the basis of the relevant agreements between Indonesia and the Netherlands and also supported the position of Yemen in regard to Aden

At the concluding session of the Bandung Conference, the Indian Prime Minister, reflecting the mood of the Conference, said ' As we know, Asia is no longer passive today, it was passive enough in the past It is no longer a submissive Asia, it has tolerated submissiveness too long The Asia of today is dynamic, Asia is full of life Well, if there is anything that Asia wants to tell the world, it is this, there is going to be no dictation in the future, no yes men ' in Asia, I hope, nor in Africa We have had enough of that in the past We value the friendship of the great countries and if I am to play my part, I should like to say that we sit with the great countries of the world as brothers, be they in Europe or America

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY GLOBAL IN CHARACTER

Although India had taken a special interest in Asian and African questions, India s foreign policy gradually became global in character In recent years this trend was very marked In the 1954 session of the U N General Assembly the leader of the Indian delegation for the first time referred to the German problem Marshal Tito, the President of Yugoslav visited India in December 1954 and held informal and friendly conversation with the Prime Minister of India The Indian Prime Minister and the President of Yugoslavia noted that their two countries had devoted their energies, both in the domestic and international

fields, for the promotion of peace and methods of negotiation and conciliation as a solvent of international conflicts and problems They proclaimed that the policy of non alignment adopted and pursued by their respective countries was not " neutrality " or " neutralism " and therefore passivity, as sometimes alleged, *but was a positive, active and constructive policy seeking to lead to collective peace, on which alone collective* security could really rest The two statesmen observed " The President and the Prime Minister wish to affirm solemnly that the hope of advance of the peoples of the world and even the survival of civilization render our acceptance of the necessity of peaceful co existence not merely as an alternative but as an imperative The fact that Yugoslavia and India are pursuing similar general aims constitutes a firm basis for the strengthening of mutual relations notwithstanding the geographical distance which separates them, and they are happy to feel that bonds of warm friendship and fraternity bind them together "

In June 1955 the Indian Prime Minister also visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Government The personal contacts he established with the Soviet leaders at that time and with other Eastern European statesmen during his subsequent tour to their countries opened new avenues of co-operation between India and those countries With the already existing ties with the British Commonwealth and close co operation with the United States in the economic field these new contacts will make India's international relations really global in character

During the Indian Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union, he and the Soviet Prime Minister accepted the principles embodied in the *Panch Shila* and observed " The wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confidence amongst nations, and pave the way for greater international co operation In the climate of peace thus created it will become possible to seek peaceful solution of international questions by the methods of negotiation and conciliation The Prime Ministers recognise that there have been signs of improvement in the general international situation In particular they welcome the lessening of tension in the Far East, the advent of Austrian independence, the improved relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and the keener and more general appreciation now discernible anywhere of the dangers of war in an atomic age "

When the tension in the international field lessened and the cold war subsided to some extent, one of the primary objectives of Indian foreign policy was fulfilled No doubt that this development *was the result of many factors which were beyond India's control But it also cannot be denied that India and* other countries, which were uncommitted to either of the power-blocs, did help a great deal in creating a proper atmosphere for lessening the tension in the world

One can safely say that this and other aspects of India's foreign policy were whole heartedly supported by the vast majority of the politically conscious people of India The criticisms directed against the Indian foreign policy are few and far between and are generally confined to some details of the execution or implementation of a particular aspect of the foreign policy It seems that within eight years of independent existence as a sovereign state, India has gradually evolved a national foreign policy, which is considered by the people to be in the best interests of the nation as a whole and, therefore, generally supported by them

A survey of India s position in world affairs will not be complete without mentioning the Soviet leaders' visit to this country in November December 1955 The Soviet Premier, N Bulganin, and the Soviet Communist Party Secretary, Khrushchev, attracted large crowds and much attention in all parts of India *The support they gave to India's case in Kashmir and Goa was enthusiastically welcomed in this country* and it stood in glaring contrast with the stand taken by the Western powers on these issues The real significance of the Soviet leaders' visit to India and their utterances in this country, however, lies in the support they gave to the ' Five Principles" which are some of the basic concepts of India's foreign policy The

Prime Ministers of the Soviet Union and India, in a joint statement signed on 13 December 1955, referred to these Five Principles, sometimes known as *Panch Shila*, and declared, "These principles have laid down that countries differing from each other in their political, social and economic systems can and should co operate with each other on the basis of mutual respect and non interference in internal matters and follow a policy of active and peaceful co-existence in the common pursuit of the ideals of peace and the betterment of the conditions of human life" In the joint statement reference was also made to the desire of the two countries to develop economic co-operation between them and expand their trade relations As a first step in this direction, an understanding was reached on the trade of some specific commodities between the two countries Although these developments do not automatically assure a great increase in the trade or other economic relations between the two countries in the near future, they are important inasmuch as they open new avenues for India's external economic relations

One must not, however, come to any hasty conclusions about the growing co-operation between India and the Communist countries This event does not in any sense alter the basic approach of India towards international affairs Prime Minister Nehru himself evaluated it in the following words —"The other day leaders of the Soviet Union came here We gave them welcome which they will remember and the world will remember It was a cordial welcome because we are not opposed to them We wished them well But wishing them well does not mean that we should lock up our own mind and intelligence and forget our own experience and our own country It is one thing to be friendly with one country and another thing to be unfriendly with another country There are some things which we can learn from Russia and we propose to learn them We want to learn from China also particularly in regard to development of co operatives In regard to some other things we propose to learn from the United States which is the most highly industrialised country in the world We propose to learn from every counry and we are friendly with every country"

INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

In the years immediately following her achievement of independence, India was fortunate in having maintained friendly and cordial relations with her neighbours, excepting Pakistan And even with Pakistan her relations were by no means unfriendly There were, of course, friction and ill-feeling between the two countries arising from the partition of undivided India, which was for a very long time considered and treated as one political and economic unit there was even a war in Kashmir in which armed forces of both the countries were involved But the unique features of Indo Pakistan relations also contributed to a feeling of affinity between the two countries In a period when these relations were not very cordial, it was possible for the Pakistani Prime Minister to refer to his counterpart in India as "elder brother" It was also possible for the people of Karachi to give a rousing welcome to the Indian Prime Minister when he visited that city and for the people of New Delhi to give an equally rousing welcome to the Pakistani Prime Minister when he visited their city. Nor were these isolated events Almost simultaneously with the occurrence of many discouraging and distressing events, many gestures of goodwill and friendship were exchanged by various groups of Indian and Pakistani people

There was another matter which free India had to face near her borders it was the problem of foreign settlements which was not, strictly speaking, a matter related to her neighbours, because none of the foreign powers concerned was India's neighbour But as these possessions were geographically a part of this country, India's security and other interests were as much involved in them as in her relations with Pakistan and other neighbours These foreign settlements still remind India of foreign domination over her and there is an influential school of thought in this country which holds that as long as these colonial settlements are not removed,

the independence of India is not complete The Indian Prime Minister has very often said that these foreign pockets were an integral part of India, geographically, racially, linguistically, culturally, economically and socially, and that they must be united with India Their existence in India was considered by the people of this country as an infringement of India's national and territorial integrity Moreover, it is also feared that, under the present circumstances, owing to the involvement of these foreign Powers in the Big Power politics and struggle for world supremacy, these foreign pockets will be a threat not only to India's independence but also to the peace area which India wants to establish and promote The French Government have in recent years shown some imagination and statesmanship and have already transferred some of their possessions to India But Portugal still functions in an old-fashioned way and tries her level best to preserve her colonies in India and elsewhere Although the Indian Government is in a position to occupy these foreign pockets by force, it is not taking that step now. It is hoped that the final transfer of all these territories will take place without much delay through negotiations and other peaceful means

INDIA'S HIMALAYAN FRONTIER

The problem of foreign settlements in India arose from the withdrawal of the British power in India and from the emergence of a sovereign independent state of India However, there was another aspect of India's foreign policy which free India inherited from the former Government of British India that was the policy towards the Himalayan frontier In regard to this area the question of India's security raises some problems similar to those faced by the British in their period But there were also differences between the two situations For one thing, the interests and objectives of the Government of an independent and democratic India are not the same as those of a foreign and Imperialist Government Moreover the situation on the other side of the Himalayan border has also considerably changed The new Government of India had to study the new situation and to formulate its policy in accordance with it.

Tibet was one of the regions in the Himalayas with which the former Government of India was connected In 1904 Lord Curzon, the Governor General of India, sent a military mission to Lhasa and almost forced a treaty on the Tibetan Government The Central Government of China ratified the treaty two years later and agreed not to annex Tibet to her territory Britain, on her part, accepted China's suzerainty over Tibet on condition that China would respect its autonomy The Government of Free India inherited the former Government of India's treaty rights in relation to Tibet It was also realised in India that when radical and epoch making changes were taking place in China under communist auspices, it would have been futile to expect that Tibet would remain unaffected But neither the Government nor the people of India were prepared for the events which took place in Tibet after 1950 On January 1st that year the Peking Government declared the liberation of Tibet as one of the basic tasks of the People's Liberation Army Following this declaration the Indian Government impressed upon China the desirability of settling the Tibetan problem peacefully It, of course, conceded that the Sino-Indian relations with regard to Tibet had to be placed on a new basis The Tibetan Mission, which came to India on its way to Peking, was held up in this country as a result of the delay in securing visas for Hongkong But unfortunately, the Peking Government started its campaign of "Liberating" Tibet by October 1950 The Indian Prime Minister stated in the Indian Parliament that the Peking Government's military campaign in Tibet was a "surprise" and "shock" to India In a note sent to the Chinese Government on October 26, the Indian Government expressed India's regret and protest over China's action and stated that that action was not in the interests of China and world peace The Chinese Government, in its reply, maintained that Tibet was a domestic problem of China and that "no foreign interference would be tolerated" in that sphere Undoubtedly this action of the Chinese Government led to a resentment and disappointment in India There was a widespread feeling in this country that China had not properly appreciated the fact that

the Indian action in this matter was only a well meant advice by a friendly Government which had a natural interest in the solution of problems concerning her neighbours by peaceful methods The ill feeling between the two countries, which was thus generated by the Tibetan episode, subsided very soon as a result of many factors The Indian Government adjusted itself to the fact that a strong and mighty power had established itself as the central government in China and that it was bound to exercise more power than its predecessors in all parts of the country under its control. Later events showed that the Chinese did not in any way interfere with India's interests in Tibet and that their activities did not in any sense infringe on India's frontiers.

Another feature of the situation was that a Tibetan Mission went to Peking in March 1951 and concluded on May 23 an agreement with the Chinese Government by which the latter gained full control over Tibet s external affairs, communications and trade as well as the integration of its forces with the Chinese Army The Agreement also provided for the autonomy of Tibet Apart from these developments connected with Tibet, the recent trends in the international field generally were in favour of bringing China and India closer to each other than they were before On November 22, 1954, the Indian Prime Minister, while giving a report of his visit to China, told the Indian Parliament " The mere fact of a closer understanding between India and China is a factor of vital importance not only to those two countries but to others also Therefore, the visit of Premier Chou En-lai to India and my visit to China assumed a significance of some historic importance Apart from conflicts which exist in many parts of the world, the major difficulty appears to be the prevalence of fear and the reactions to that all prevailing fear We discussed this matter in Peking, as we had done previously in New Delhi, and we agreed that everything should be done to remove this fear and apprehension from men's minds so as to produce an atmosphere which is more helpful in the consideration and solution of problems The leaders of China assured me that they were anxious to do this and I had no doubt that they meant what they said because circumstances that exist today demand such a course of action even from the point of view of national interest " This statement largely reflects the most popular view in India on India China relations Modern China, far from being considered as a menace to India, is today regarded with great esteem in this country No other foreign power has a higher prestige in India to-day than the present regime of China

India's relations with Nepal are of a kind different from those with Tibet Nepal has an area of some 56,000 square miles and a population of nearly eight million It is an independent state and has secured admission to the United Nations India respects Nepal's independence and had supported Nepal's application for membership of the United Nations On July 31, 1950, Nepal and India concluded a Treaty of Peace and Friendship and another on Trade and Commerce India also gave extensive economic and technical aid to Nepal

While Great Britain was ruling India she was dominating Nepal's politics and rulers to a great extent Independent India is not interested in following Britain's traditional policy in Nepal or elsewhere But she is not prepared to look with indifference towards the happenings in Nepal because of her strategic and other interests in that country The interests of Britain, the U S A and China still met, and occasionally one group of interests even clashed with another, in Nepal India was naturally interested in avoiding a situation in which Nepal would become a centre of conflict in the cold war The Indian Government realized that an economically and politically stabilized Nepal would have the necessary strength to resist foreign intervention India's policy towards Nepal was, therefore, directed towards helping it achieve this political and economic stability In March 1950 Indian attitude towards Nepal was explained by the Prime Minister in the following words ' Geographically, Nepal is almost a part of India, although she is an independent country Recently, the Prime Minister of Nepal visited India We welcomed and conferred with this distin-

tinguished personage and it was clear that, in so far as certain developments in Asia were concerned, the interests of Nepal and India were identical For instance, to mention one point, it is not possible for the Indian Government to tolerate an invasion of Nepal from anywhere, even though there is no military alliance between the two countries Any possible invasion of Nepal, of which, incidentally, I have not the slightest apprehension, would inevitably involve the safety of India "

There were two states—Bhutan and Sikkim—in the Himalayan border with which India had special treaty relations The treaties concluded with each of them separately by India made her responsible for the defence and foreign relations of the two states It was, therefore, possible for the Indian Government to take steps to ensure India s security in this region

India s another neighbour is Afghanistan with which she had many cultural and friendly contacts in an early period Since the achievement of freedom by this country these contacts were revived and friendly relations were established between India and Afghanistan In 1950 a treaty of friendship was concluded between the two countries

RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

Establishing and maintaining friendly relations with all these neighbours were not a problem for India Not so the relations with Pakistan, her biggest neighbour From the very beginning they caused much anxiety for the foreign policy makers of this country While formulating a policy towards Pakistan, independent India was not just faced with the task of cultivating friendly relations with another state, but with removing the ill feeling and suspicion which already existed between the leaders of the Muslim League and the Congress Party in pre independent India and between a large section of the Hindus and of the Muslims in the sub continent With the establishment of two independent states of India and Pakistan and the widespread occurrence of communal riots this ill feeling and suspicion were crystallised and became the basis of relations between the two states The Indian National Congress and its leaders had resisted the idea of partitioning the country until circumstances forced them to accept it In Pakistan there was a feeling that the Indian leaders had never whole heartedly accepted the partition of the sub continent and that they would try to undo the creation of Pakistan The Indian Prime Minister tried his level best to remove this suspicion and repeatedly declared that the Indian Government would turn down any proposal for the reunion of India and Pakistan To dispel this fear on the part of Pakistan the following specific provision was included in the India Pakistan Agreement of December 1948 " Any propaganda for the amalgamation of India and Pakistan or of portions thereof including East Bengal on the one hand and West Bengal or Assam or Cooch Behar or Tripura on the other, shall be discouraged " This agreement was more or less adhered to by the two parties

Another problem arising from the partition of the country was the distressed state of minorities in the two states There was large scale migration of Hindus from Pakistan to India and Muslims from India to Pakistan The displaced persons in the whole sub continent numbered more than ten million The Pakistani Prime Minister, at one stage, was forced to declare that Pakistan would not take in any more immigrants from India The governments of the two countries recognized the magnitude of the problems arising from this situation and the two Prime Ministers declared on April 18, 1948 " The responsibility for protecting the lives and property of minority communities and for ensuring that they receive justice and that their civic rights are fully safeguarded rests on the Government of the Dominion in which the minorities reside " The Prime Ministers also gave the assurance to all concerned that in Pakistan and India everyone should have equal rights, opportunities, privileges and obligations and that there should be no discrimination against the minorities and that their cultural and religious rights should be fully safeguarded Early on March 24, 1948, the two Prime Ministers had stated " Both Governments hope and trust that minority

communities will remain in their homes Indeed they are anxious that they should so They intend to do their utmost to help members of minority communities to stay They are convinced that this is in the best interests of all concerned " The two Governments also made it clear that they would not put any obstacle in the way of those who, of their own will, decided to migrate from one country to the other

It was one thing to make these declarations based on justice and common sense, it was another thing to implement them For India it was not difficult to live up to these statements The leader of the Indian national movement, Mahatma Gandhi, was an apostle of peace and an ambassador of goodwill between the Hindu and Muslim communities When he found that the people of India were not living up to the ideals preached by him he courted martyrdom at the hands of a fanatical Hindu and thus by laying down his life created an atmosphere in the country which ensured the safety of the Muslims India s Prime Minister also continuously emphasised the secular character of the state and took firm steps against the activities of the Hindu fanatics of the country Moreover, the Muslims in India, though a minority, constituted more than forty million people and this numerical strength gave them some self confidence All these were absent in Pakistan There was no Gandhi or Nehru in that country M A Jinnah, who was very often referred to as the Founder of that state, fanatically believed that the Hindus and Muslims were two nations The Pakistan Constituent Assembly, in one of its early sittings, declared that the Pakistani Constitution would be based on " Islamic Principles ", whatever that term might mean, and also decided that the head of the Pakistani state would always be a Muslim All these developments created a sense of insecurity among the Hindus of East Pakistan, whose exodus to India still continues to be a problem for this country In West Pakistan there are no substantial number of Hindus The problem of the minority in Pakistan was, therefore, the problem of Hindus in East Pakistan It is perhaps impossible to solve this problem unless the ruling classes in Pakistan completely give up their theocratic approach towards political matters and decide to convert Pakistan to a modern democratic state

There were many other matters which were sources of friction between the two states The most important among them related to evacuees' property, canal water in the Punjab, and trade and travel between the two countries Many agreements on these matters were concluded between the two governments Very often it was alleged by one party or other that these agreements were not implemented in the spirit in which they were signed Occasionally, one of the two governments made some unilateral decisions to take some measures in regard to these matters In the case of the canal water there was a partly successful attempt to settle the dispute under the auspices of the World Bank Even when the disputes concerning these issues were not settled the differences of opinion on them between the Government of India and that of Pakistan were never so acute as to mar the friendly relations between the two countries

THE INDIA-PAKISTAN DISPUTE ON KASHMIR

The dispute concerning the future status of Kashmir is of a different level It arose from the peculiar situation arising from the partition of the sub continent and the manner in which the power was transferred from the British to Indian hands. The Plan of June 3 1947, which provided for the creation of two independent states of India and Pakistan, virtually made the five hundred and odd native states of India independent Of course, each one of them was allowed to accede to either India or Pakistan Some of the rulers of the states decided to make use of the provision to remain independent at least for the purpose of bargaining with the Government of India At that time the Indian leaders held the view that the mutually useful relationship which had developed between the different parts of India should not be abandoned by giving an exaggerated importance to the ' monstrous theory of sovereignty of the native states developed by the British rulers to weaken the political unity of India The Muslim League Party and the Pakistan

Government did not share the view At first they maintained that legally every state in India had the right to remain independent The Dewan of Travancore, who was the head of the Government which was in existence in that state at the time of the partition of the Indian sub continent, asserted that Travancore would remain independent and would not accede to India The leaders of the Muslim League blessed the Travancore Dewan's action and gave him moral support When the ruler of Junagadh, a state which was geographically contiguous to India, stated that his decision was to make his state a part of Pakistan, the League leaders welcomed this step, although this was against the wishes of the people of the state The Pakistan Government also supported the attempts of the ruler of Hyderabad to make that state independent In the discussion on all these matters the Pakistani leaders were silent about the rights of the people of the states concerned But they took an entirely different stand on the future of Kashmir They claimed that as a matter of right that state belonged to Pakistan because the majority of the population in it were Muslims This was the beginning of the conflict in Kashmir

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is situated in the north-west of the sub continent covering an area of 84,471 square miles In the West it borders on Pakistan and in the South Pakistan and India The vast majority of the population are Muslims The ruler of the state was a Hindu When the two independent states of India and Pakistan were established in August 1947, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir did not make an immediate decision in regard to the state's future But it was indicated that the state would have an ultimate association with Pakistan As a first step the Kashmir Government concluded a standstill agreement with the Government of Pakistan The object of this agreement was to provide for the continuance of economic and administrative relations between Kashmir and Pakistan on the same basis as had existed between Kashmir and India before the creation of the new Dominions But Pakistan authorities were not satisfied with this agreement They tried to coerce the state to immediately accede to Pakistan and for this purpose they cut off supplies of food, petrol and other essential commodities to Kashmir The Pakistan Government also hindered in many ways the free transit of travellers between Kashmir and Pakistan Simultaneously with the application of economic pressure, border raids were also organized against Kashmir The Kashmir Government protested to Pakistan against these activities and stated that, if these raids continued, they would be forced to ask for outside assistance But the raiders continued to pour into the state and there were large-scale offensive preparations across the border in Pakistan, including movement of troops At one stage five thousand raiders in green uniform participated in the operation and the state troops evacuated Fort Guen and some other places occupied by them The state government was compelled by these circumstances to request India for military aid They made such a request on October 24, 1947, and also offered the state's accession *to India The Indian Government accepted the offer and after the accession of the state to India defence,* communication and foreign affairs of the state became the responsibility of India Kashmir, for all practical purposes, became an Indian territory But even after the accession of the state to India, Pakistan Government, far from preventing the raiders from invading the territory of a friendly state, gave them help Indian Prime Minister, referring to Pakistan's complicity in the invasion of Kashmir, asked " Is this not a violation of international law and an unfriendly act towards a neighbour country ? Is the Pakistan Government too weak to prevent armies marching across its territory to invade another country or is it willing that this should happen ? There is no third alternative " The Indian Government's repeated attempts to dissuade Pakistan from giving aid to the raiders met with failure The Indian army could very soon make the invaders withdraw from Kashmir's capital and neighbouring areas But so long as these raiders could go back to their sanctuary in Pakistan's territory and the Indian army was instructed not to cross the Pakistani border they could not be permanently stopped Finally the Indian Government decided to appeal to the United Nations to call upon Pakistan, a member state, to respect its international obligation and cease giving support to the aggressors

While referring the issue to the United Nations Security Council the Indian Government requested the Council to ask Pakistan (1) to prevent its personnel, military and civil, from participating in or assisting the invasions of Jammu and Kashmir state, (2) to call upon its nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir state, (3) to deny to the invaders. (a) access to, and use of, its territory for operations against Kashmir, (b) military and other supplies and (c) all other kinds of aid which might tend to prolong the struggle This preliminary request of India was unheeded by the Council The big Powers, who could come to quick decision when there was an outbreak of war in Korea, sidetracked the main issue of aggression in regard to Kashmir They began to place emphasis on such issues as the organisation of plebiscite in Kashmir to determine its future and arranging for negotiations between India and Pakistan under the auspices of a United Nations Commission Even a foreign journal like the *New Statesman and Nation* of London wrote on April 24, 1948 "The Security Council is trying to avert this war It made a bad start, showing a disposition to brush aside India's case and deeply wounding India's sensibilities We do not deny that she (India) has causes to complain that the Great Powers at first favoured Pakistan for their own reasons" Many in India also felt that one of the underlying factors behind the Security Council's decision was the Anglo American concern about their bases in Pakistan After extensive discussions on many irrelevant matters the Security Council, on the initiative of the Western Powers, accepted a resolution which mainly dealt with the organisation of the plebiscite in the state The Government of India expressed its inability to implement some parts of the resolution, but stated that it would confer with a United Nations Commission which would be constituted in accordance with the Council's resolution

When the U N Commission visited the sub continent, the Indian Government presented to it documentary evidence to show that regular Pakistani troops were participating in the military operations in Kashmir In August 1948 the U N Commission noted that the presence of Pakistan troops in the territory of the state constituted a material change in the situation since the Commission was sent out by the Security Council The two Governments decided to abide by the U N Commission's appeal for the creation of peace ful conditions and on January 1, 1949, they accepted its cease fire proposals The chief military autho rities of India and Pakistan met in New Delhi on January 18, 1949, and reached full agreement on the position following the informal cease fire of a fortnight ago Since then there has been no war in Kashmir But there was also no settlement of the dispute Some parts of Kashmir territory are still held by Pakistan and the remaining parts by India

The negotiations between the two Governments under the U N auspices did not lead to any settlement The crux of the problem was the fundamental disagreement between India and Pakistan on the origin of the problem and the role of the United Nations in its solution India continued to maintain that Kashmir was legally a part of her territory as a result of the Kashmir state's accession to India in October 1947 India also considered it her right and duty to station troops in the state for its defence The Pakistan Government did not agree with this view They maintained that Kashmir's accession to India was illegal and that Kashmir belonged to Pakistan because the majority of the population of the state, who were Muslims would favour an association with her In principle both India and Pakistan accepted the view that the people of Kashmir should be allowed to express the views on the state's future But they could not agree on the methods to be employed for organizing a plebiscite for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the people.

PAKISTAN'S MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH THE U.S.

In 1953 a new factor entered into Indo Pakistan dispute over Kashmir In the words of India's Prime Minister the proposed U S Pakistan pact had changed the whole context of the Kashmir issue it takes it out from the region of a peaceful approach for a friendly settlement, bringing in the pressure of arms" In

addition to Kashmir other aspects of Indo-Pakistan relations were also affected by Pakistan's decision to join the power-bloc led by the Western Powers Any kind of a military alliance between such a highly industrialized country like the United States and a pre-dominantly agricultural country like Pakistan became a kind of " subsidiary alliance " and many Indians recalled that it was through a series of subsidiary alliances that India was conquered by the British in an earlier period The internal situation in Pakistan was far from stable During the past two years she had to pass through one crisis after another The Constituent Assembly was not in a position to prepare a draft constitution even after eight years of deliberations The rivalry between East Pakistan and West Pakistan, the persecution of the Ahmedia community among the Muslims and of the Hindus in general, and the fanatical and theocratic approach of many leaders towards political questions made the solution of Pakistan's problems very difficult To add to Pakistan's troubles the economic conditions of Pakistan showed signs of deterioration as a result of fall in prices of raw materials after the end of the Korean war There were also frequent cabinet crises in Pakistan and it was reported that the hands of the Pakistani military and foreign Powers were evident behind many of the political developments in Pakistan It was under these circumstances that Pakistan was moving towards a military alliance with the United States In India it was feared that Pakistan was compromising her independence and sovereignty by making a military alliance, under the existing state of affairs, with a strong military power like the United States It was also realised that a threat to Pakistan's freedom was a potential threat to India's freedom also

A close alliance between Pakistan and the United States would, in addition to leading to a diminution of Pakistan's sovereignty, result in creating a sense of insecurity and an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and fear in this part of the world As early as on November 15, 1953, the Indian Prime Minister expressed intense concern on the reported U S -Pakistan talks and said that a military pact between the two countries would have " far-reaching consequences on the whole structure of things in South Asia " On March 1, 1954, he told the Indian Parliament " As I have said repeatedly, this grant of military aid by the United States to Pakistan creates a grave situation for us in India and for Asia It adds to our tensions It makes it much more difficult to solve the problems which have confronted India and Pakistan It is vitally necessary for India and Pakistan to solve these problems and to develop friendly and co-operative relations which their geographical position as neighbours, as well as their long common history, demand These problems can only be solved by the two countries themselves and not by the intervention of others It is indeed this intervention of other countries in the past that has come in the way of their solution "

In spite of the vigorous opposition by India, the U S and Pakistan went ahead with their plan of concluding the U S Pakistan Pact On February 24, 1954, the President of the United States sent a personal message to the Indian Prime Minister informing him of the U S Government's decision to extend military aid to Pakistan He assured the Prime Minister that this step did not in any way affect the friendship between the U S and India In this personal message the U S President tried to maintain that what his Government was proposing to do, and Pakistan had agreed to, was not directed against India The American President added " If your Government should conclude that circumstances require military aid of a type contemplated by our mutual security legislation, please be assured that your request would receive my most sympathetic consideration " The Indian Prime Minister replied " I thank you for your personal message which your Ambassador in Delhi handed to me on February 24 With this message was a copy of your statement in regard to the military aid being given by the United States to Pakistan I appreciate the assurance you have given You are, however, aware of the views of my Government and our people in regard to this matter Those views and the policy, which we have pursued after the most careful thought, are based on our desire to help in the furtherance of peace and freedom We shall continue to pursue that policy "

Although the U S -Pakistan Military Agreement of 1954 did considerable harm to Indo-Pakistan relations, renewed efforts were made later for direct negotiations between the governments for the settlement

of outstanding disputes In a birthday message to the Indian Prime Minister, the Governor-General of Pakistan stated that he and the Indian Prime Minister should unravel the tangles between the two countries In his reply to the Pakistani Governor General, the Indian Prime Minister expressed his agreement with this view In January 1955 the Governor General of Pakistan visited New Delhi and attended the Indian Republic Day celebrations In this year there was also some correspondence between the two Prime Ministers reviving the method of direct negotiations for the settlement of India-Pakistan disputes These developments restored, to some extent, the friendly co-operation between the two Governments

RELATIONS WITH BURMA

Culturally and racially the people of India do not have the same degree of affinity with the people of Burma, as they have with the people of Pakistan, or even of Ceylon When India and Burma became free there was also the problem of Indians in Burma, which was at that time considered to be a source of discord between the two countries It is to the credit of the statesmen of the two countries that, in spite of many difficulties, these two states could maintain very cordial relations with each other

In January 1948 Burma became a sovereign independent republic She decided not to be a member of the Commonwealth But in the months immediately following Burma's achievement of independence the Government of the country was not in a position to maintan law and order within the country There were many revolts against the Government and some among them developed into a civil war Some of these revolts were fed by political parties like the Red Flag Communists and the White Flag Communists From the military point of view the Government's chief danger came from the revolt organized by the Karens, who considered themselves to be a national minority The Karens numbered one and a half million and their leaders demanded the creation of an independent and separate state The leaders of the Karens had a well-trained ten thousand strong army and towards the end of 1948 they could control one sixth of the total area of Burma To add to the Government's difficulties, its treasury was almost empty and Burma's export of rice and other commodities was considerably reduced When Burma was passing through such a crisis the Government of India took the first step to help her neighbour On February 28, 1949, they convened an informal conference of the representatives of the Commonwealth States at New Delhi to find ways and means by which their governments could help the Burmese Government to maintain law and order within the country The question of giving aid to Burma was further discussed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers when they met in London in April 1949 The proposals discussed at these conferences took concrete shape only in 1950 and in that year a programme of £6,000,000 aid to Burma was finally drawn up by the Commonwealth states As a token of friendship with, and goodwill towards, Burma the Indian Government's role in organizing and giving this aid to her is significant

India also gave Burma very able diplomatic support when the latter launched a complaint to the U N regarding aggression against her by the armed forces of the Kuomintang Government of Formosa During the debate on this matter in the U N General Assembly in April 1953, the Indian delegate expressed India's deep concern over the Kuomintang troops' action in Burma and said that any violation of the honour of Burma or any injury caused to that country was as significant to India as an injury to herself The Indian delegation gave its unqualified support to Burma's draft resolution on this matter

Although there was friendly co operation between Burma and India in these fields, Indians in Burma and their rights over their property in Burma did create some problems It is estimated that at present there are 700,000 Indians in Burma Some of them are permanent settlers who willingly or under pressure of circumstances made Burma their home Some others are long term settlers, such as government servants, railway employees, traders etc who wanted to come back to India after retirement Still others are

migrants who came seasonaly for a fixed short period to do rice planting during the rains, and again during the harvest in summer A large number of these Indians occupied privileged positions in Burma's economic life As a result there was widespread anti-Indian feeling and even occasional riots directed against Indians The Government of independent Burma took many steps which affected the proprietary rights of many Indians On January 3, 1948, the Government promulgated the Transfer of Immovable Property (Registration) Act It prohibited the transfer of immovable property to any person who was not a citizen of Burma This act also vested the President of the Union of Burma with powers to grant exemptions This legislation resulted in a sudden drop in the value of property The Indian Government protested against this measure as a large number of Indians, who owned valuable immovable property in Burma, were affected by it Another step taken in the same direction by the Government of Burma was the Disposal of Tenancies Act, also promulgated in January 1948 It provided for the expropriation of land owned by Indians and others without payment of reasonable compensation The Indian Government protested against this Act also Some other developments which raised many difficulties for a large number of Indians related to constitutional charges According to them Indians or other foreigners became ineligible to continue permanently in Government service Of course, those who were doing technical work or who were otherwise indispensable to Burma, were retained The citizenship regulations and the strict control of the transfer of money to foreign countries were some other governmental measures which affected unfavourably the conditions of Indians in Burma

Although these and similar developments created many difficulties for the Indians in Burma, they did not at any time do any harm to the friendly relations which existed between Burma and India The trade and other economic relations between the two countries increased The Indian Prime Minister made a goodwill visit to Burma in June 1950 The Burmese Foreign Minister visited Delhi more than once for friendly consultations Recently the Burmese Prime Minister visited India on his way to Moscow A firm indication of the friendship between the two countries was the Indo Burmese Treaty of Friendship which was concluded on July 7, 1951 The treaty provides that representatives of the two countries should meet together occasionally to exchange views on matters of common interest and to consider ways and means for mutual co operation It stated that the relations between the two countries regarding trade, customs, cultural contacts communications, extradition of criminals, immigration or repatriation of nationals of each state should be based on reciprocity Mutual recognition of the independence of each country was also contained in this treaty

INDIA AND CEYLON

India s relations with Ceylon were not so amicable as those with Burma Nor were they so unhappy as those with Pakistan On broad questions of foreign policy, especially in relation to the cold war and big power politics India and Burma are in the category of the "peace area" countries Not so Ceylon The present Government of Ceylon share the Western Powers' distrust of the Soviet Union and, therefore, it is inclined towards associating itself with the Western Powers Although this aspect of Ceylon s foreign policy is sharply in disagreement with the foreign policies of India and Burma, the real cause of conflict between India and Ceylon lies elsewhere

It is the problem of Indians in Ceylon There are nearly a million Indians among Ceylon's population of eight million The vast majority of them are labourers But a substantial section of them have a dominant position in trade and urban employment Many of these Indians were not interested in settling permanently in Ceylon They were birds of passage who wanted to make some money and spend their retired life in India On the other hand, the Ceylon Government was not interested in giving citizenship rights even to those Indians who wanted to settle down in the country All these created problems of a complex

nature Since 1947 the Prime Ministers of the two countries held many meetings to find out a solution to them The differences of opinion between the two Governments mainly related to the conditions qualifying Indian residents for citizenship The procedure to be adopted in the examination of these qualifications also created controversy In 1948 the Ceylon Government made a unilateral decision and promulgated the Indian and Pakistani (Residents) Citizenship Act which provided for the acquisition by registration of Ceylon citizenship by Indians and Pakistanis who possessed special residential qualification This qualification mainly consisted of uninterrupted residence in Ceylon for a definite period—ten years before 1946 for unmarried people and seven years for those who were married The possession of an assured income was also considered as another essential qualification The applicant must also prove that he had generally manifested his intention to settle down permanently in Ceylon and that he should clearly understand that, on his registration as a citizen of Ceylon he would be deemed to have renounced his right to civil and political status under any law in force in the part of India from which he migrated On June 9, 1948 the Indian Prime Minister conveyed to the Ceylon Prime Minister his regret over the fact that the Indian Residents (Citizenship) Bill conformed to none of the proposals made as a fair basis for a settlement between the two Governments ' He requested for an assurance from the Ceylon Government that there would be no discrimination either legislative or administrative between citizens by descent and citizens by registration On August 19 1948 the Ceylon Prime Minister stated that he could give the required assurance only in respect of eligibility for franchise or for office but his Government did not propose to remove any legal restrictions in Ordinances such as the Land Development Ordinance the Fisheries Ordinance and the Omnibus Licensing Ordinance which might operate against certain classes of citizens by registration Following this and similar legislations in Ceylon the talks between the two Governments reached a deadlock A large number of Ceylon Indians at first boycotted the implementation of these actions Later however there were again successful negotiations between the representatives of the two Governments The two Prime Ministers met in New Delhi in January 1954 and finally came to an agreement The main features of this Agreement are (1) two Governments reiterate their determination to suppress illicit immigration from India to Ceylon (2) no change will be made in the Indian and Pakistani (Citizenship) Act which will be administered so as to dispose of all pending applications within two years (3) registered persons will be placed on a separate electoral register only for a period of ten years and will send representatives to parliament (4) the Prime Ministers will continue the practice of close consultation in matters affecting the mutual interests of their Governments There was a feeling among many Ceylon Indians that the Ceylon Government did not always act in accordance with the spirit of the Agreement But there was no doubt that the Agreement did promote good relations between the two countries

Although there was some difference of opinion between India and Ceylon on questions connected with the cold war there was a remarkable degree of agreement between them on such questions as colonialism and racialism Not being a member of the United Nations till recently Ceylon did not have the opportunity to become a member of the Asian African Group at the U N But she never failed to play her role in Asian affairs whenever it was possible for her to do so It was not an accident that, along with India and other neighbours of India Ceylon took an active part in the Asian Conference on Indonesia which met at New Delhi in January 1949 because in the recent period all these countries had more or less the common experience of having been dominated by foreigners Another conference of some Asian States in which Ceylon took a leading part was the South East Prime Ministers Conference held at Colombo in April May 1954 The concept of the Colombo Powers arose from this Conference Along with the Colombo Plan, this is an important landmark in the history of regional co operation between India and her neighbours



Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Learned Statesman of the East

EDUCATION DURING THESE FEW YEARS OF FREEDOM

THESE "few years of freedom" have seen a substantial, if not spectacular, advance on many fronts and fields of our national life. It is "substantial", if viewed against the background of what had been done and was being done before the country achieved its freedom. Viewed against the magnitude of what has yet to be done and in the context of our pressing needs, it appears to be quite inadequate. Those who are optimists or complacent take the first view, those who are pessimistic or just take delight in cynically decrying everything are either ill-informed or take the latter view. My own feeling is that, while there is no room for complacency, there is every justification for tempered optimism. The partition and its aftermath had left us with a bitter and depressing legacy which even drove into the background the feeling of exultation and achievement which should have welcomed the dawn of freedom. It is not necessary for me to recount what these problems were, they are only too well known and many of them are still with us. Is it not a matter of some satisfaction that we have been able to tackle some of the most obstinate and difficult of these problems with a reasonable measure of success and are now well set on the way to the building up of a welfare state?

In this multi-lateral programme of national reconstruction, education occupies a place of special importance. What has the country done in this particular field? It is easy and fashionable to indulge in light-hearted, sometime even irresponsible criticism of the country's educational effort and to underline the lowering of standards that has been going on for some time. It is more difficult to understand and appreciate the basic and long-range issues involved in the process of education, because its perceptible effects take decades to mature and, in any case, they cannot be understood by persons who have no true discernment. It may, therefore, be worthwhile to survey briefly what has been achieved during "these few years" and to indicate the lines of advance that have been laid down or are under active consideration.

It is necessary to recall the background of the educational situation that was bequeathed to us by the British regime This is not the occasion either to trace its history or even give a factual picture of the situation as a whole Its two outstanding features were the inadequacy of the total educational provision and the unsatisfactory and unsuitable nature of the pattern that had developed during the last hundred years—out of tune with national needs and aspirations, cramped by narrowness of objectives and uninspiring methods and techniques The country was, therefore, faced with the two fold problem of expanding educational facilities as quickly as possible and improving its quality and contents, so that it may become an active factor in the historic project of rebuilding national life Now these two objectives, though equally important, are apt to become rival claimants when the total resources available are inadequate and meagre as compared to the magnitude of the need This is precisely the position in our country where, for many years, a controversy has been going on between those who press the claims of educational expansion and those who stand for qualitative improvement

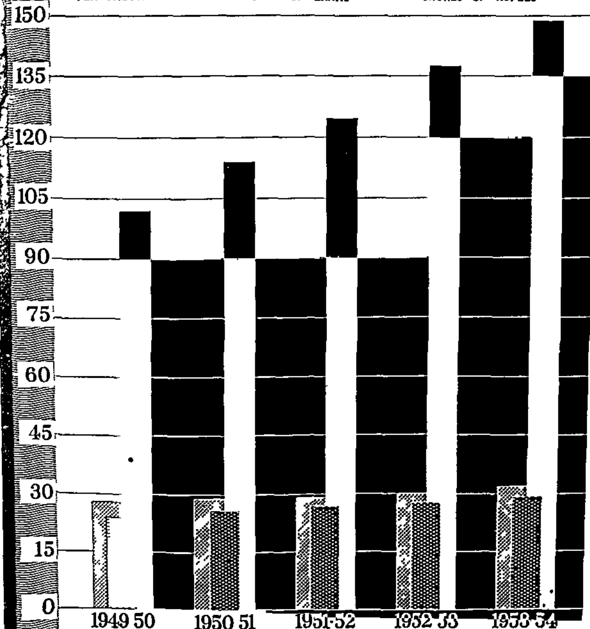
The present low percentage of literacy and the meagreness of the provision for education make it imperative that there should be a rapid and well planned expansion of education without which it would be impossible to ensure an intelligent functioning of democracy or bring about healthy and rapid economic and industrial development The Post-War Plan of Education Development had contemplated the establishment of a full fledged system of national education within a period of 40 years Nationalist opinion, however, was critical of the Plan, because it meant waiting till nearly the end of the century for a measure of educational provision which many countries already enjoyed A committee which was subsequently appointed in 1948, under the chairmanship of Mr B G Kher, recommended that at least basic education, up to 14 years of age, should be made available to all children within the next 16 years But the paucity of available resources and personnel threatens to make both the plans abortive and, in spite of our best efforts we are still very far from the goal of free, universal and compulsory education for the age-group 6-14 Compulsion has been introduced, on a limited scale, in many States—confined either to selected compact areas or big cities—and, in the State of Bombay, it has been applied to all urban and rural areas, except to villages with a population of less than 500 persons In addition, States have also been trying to expand education on a voluntary basis and, in some of them, a large number of new schools have been opened by private agencies during the last few years Under the pressure of this situation, the Central Government has been taking an increasing interest in education and, in the First Five-Year Plan, it provided more funds for education than has ever been done before So far as expansion is concerned, it adopted two "mildly bold" measures of policy Partly to solve the growing menace of the problem of 'educated unemployment' and partly to provide additional facilities for education, the Ministry of Education formulated, in 1953, a scheme for the employment of 80,000 teachers, 30,000 in 1953 and 50,000 in 1954—either in existing schools where additional teachers are urgently needed or in new schools to be established in rural areas This scheme has been implemented with a fair measure of success It will provide a modest but honourable opportunity for service to a large number of educated youth who have been feeling increasingly frustrated because they cannot find work to do It will incidentally, arrest, to some extent, the tendency of educated young persons to migrate from the villages to the cities which has been increasingly depleting the countryside of locally needed talent Under the same scheme, it has been decided to open a number of Social (Adult) Education centres in urban areas inorder to provide educational facilities for adults and also to relieve, to some extent, the incidence of urban unemployment In addition to this emergency measure, the Central Government also invited the State Governments to prepare plans for the regular *expansion* of Basic and Social Education on the understanding that, subject to the availability of funds, the Central Government will bear 30% of the additional expenditure on Basic and 50% on Social Education Under the present Plan, a total provision of about 35 crores of rupees has been made at the Centre for various educational schemes Of these, Rs 20

crores have been set apart for Basic and Social and Secondary Education, about Rs 11.5 crores for Technical Education, Rs 2.5 crores for University Education and Rs ½ crore for Youth Welfare and related activities. In addition, Rs 116 crores have been earmarked for educational development in the budget of the various States for the period of the Plan.

In the formulation of this National Plan, which is many-sided, the bulk of the resources have naturally been devoted to the agricultural, technical and economic development of the country, partly because these needs are always more insistent and clamorous and partly because the increase of the total national wealth from which education and other social services are to be financed, depends on them. The Education Ministry has, however, been pressing strongly but without an adequate measure of success for education being given a higher priority. Apart from this question of finance, the National Plan has, on the advice of the Ministry of Education, recognized and enunciated certain important principles of educational reconstruction which will have a far-reaching impact on our future pattern of education. It has recommended a shift of emphasis from the urban to the rural areas so that new institutions may be opened mainly in the villages. It has favoured the idea of initially concentrating educational effort on selected compact areas and gradually extending it to cover a wider field. This is the principle adopted in the establishment of "Community Projects" in which an all round campaign has been launched for the improvement of village life and conditions. It is expected that, including what are known as "National Extension Centres", these projects will cover 48,000 villages or about 1/10th of the rural population of the country during this Plan period and practically the entire country in the Second Five-Year Plan. Certain minimum educational and other targets have been laid down which are proposed to be achieved in these areas during the First Five Year Plan. Thus it is contemplated that 60% of the boys and 40% of the girls in the age-group 6-11 (instead of 40% and 33% at the start) should be enrolled in schools. In the case of secondary schools the percentage of enrolments is proposed to be raised from 11% to 15%. Similarly, certain suitable targets have been suggested for work in the field of Adult Education. These targets are not likely to be *fully* attained but they have provided a much needed stimulus for educational development.

So much for the *quantitative* aspect. What is perhaps educationally more significant is the *approach* that has been adopted for dealing with the question of the *quality* of education. It is interesting to observe that the very same forces which demand quantitative expansion—the advent of democracy and political freedom, the implementation of industrial and technological schemes, the need for the liquidation of poverty, disease and ignorance—require even more emphatically the re-shaping of the pattern of education so that the younger generation may be able to meet the challenge of the new situation worthily and efficiently. Here the difficulty is two fold. Educational changes and improvements can only be brought about slowly, sometimes quite imperceptibly, while public opinion is impatient for, and usually impressed by, quick and tangible results. Secondly, the number of schools is so large that the carry over of new educational ideas and experiments to all of them would involve many decades of hard and patient work and a large number of trained, competent and conscientious intermediaries between progressive educational thought and the traditional school room practices. Educationists in India are, therefore, faced simultaneously with the colossal task of transforming educational ideology and techniques and training teachers and inspecting officers who may be able to work out the new creative approach in their day-to-day activity.

Naturally, in any large-scale programme of reconstruction, the first necessary step is a carefull survey of the existing position, an assessment of the needs and the formulation of suitable schemes for meeting them. In this direction, a good deal of work was done already and a reasonably satisfactory size up of the situation is available. In addition to the "Seargent Scheme", which provided an outline survey of educa-


PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA
INSTITUTIONS IN TEN THOUSANDS
ENROLMENT IN TENS OF LAKHS
EXPENDITURE IN CRORES OF RUPEES
150
135
120
105
90
75
60
45
30
15
0
1949 50
1950 51
1951-52
1952 53
1953 54

tional needs at all levels from the primary to the University, three other important Reports have been published, during the last twenty years, surveying in some detail the special problems of primary, secondary and University education and making important and far reaching recommendations for their reform and re construction These are the Reports of Basic National Education Committee the Indian Universities Commission and the Secondary Education Commission In addition, the Scientific Man Power Committee the All India Council of Technical Education and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research have made a special survey of the problems of higher scientific and technical education I shall content myself here with referring to some of the most important features of their recommendations because they provide the back ground of the educational work done during these seven fateful years

The scheme of Basic National Education represents a radical attempt to reconstruct primary education on new lines so as to provide a suitable type of education for children in the 7-14 age group In spite of the piecemeal changes made from time to time, the Indian school has continued to be mainly a centre of passive learning—formal, unrealistic and divorced from life It had been subjected to a great deal of criticism from many quarters but this criticism did not make any great, formative impact on the schools During the last decade of his life, Mahatma Gandhi gave his special attention to education, because he realized that it was not making an effective contribution to the improvement of people s life His insight into education was not derived from books or actual teaching experience, but was the fruit of a first hand knowledge of men and matters and a clear eyed view of its significant objectives Some of his basic postulates which struck the orthodox educationists at the time as so many educational heresies have since been largely assimilated into our educational thinking and policy—for instance, that education should be given through the child s mother tongue, that 4 or 5 years' primary education is utterly inadequate and it must, at least, be given for 7 or 8 years on a free, compulsory and universal basis This has even been incorporated in the directives of national policy embodied in our Constitution What, however, provoked the greatest controversy at the time—and has since proved to be the most valuable and creative idea of the scheme—was the place he wanted to give to crafts and productive work in education He held very strongly that education could not be effective and realistic unless it was given to the child *through suitable types of productive work and crafts*, like spinning and weaving or wood work or gardening and agriculture or smithy or pottery so that his head and hands, *i e*, his intellectual and practical aptitudes may be trained side by side Real, abiding knowledge cannot be acquired directly from the spoken or the printed word—particularly in early childhood, it is the bye product of significant, socially worthwhile, growing and essentially interesting activities Moreover, it is only through participation in them that the whole personality of the child—and not merely a fragment of

tual and manual integrity Slipshod work is not only a proof of bad workmanship but also betokens an un-

there was no better way of achieving this than through a type of education which would link the school with the community, exploit the full educative resources of the environment and give the children an opportunity to participate in rural activities and crafts and acquire knowledge through work This would place the school where it really belongs—at the heart of community life—and its four walls would crumble away, as it were, enabling the sunshine and the breezes to play on it

There was another aspect of this scheme which is still a matter of considerable controversy and has not been generally accepted Mahatma Gandhi was an idealist in his vision, but a hard-headed realist in choosing his means He had no use for paper-perfect schemes which could not be translated into practice He wanted education to spread to the most distant hamlets in the country as early as possible and he knew there were not enough financial resources for the purpose So he came out with a really staggering new idea Why not let the children contribute through their work to the cost of their education? If they are doing craft work, why should they not produce useful and marketable articles which could be sold so that the proceeds could be spent for national education? If craft is taught efficiently and seriously and not as the dilettante's hobby, why should not children be able to produce such articles? The idea was so startling that it provoked a hornet's nest of opposition the children will be reduced to the status of sweated labourers, the teachers will become slave drivers, and the schools will degenerate into factories and will not be able to achieve their intellectual or social or moral purposes The Basic National Education Committee was itself rather wary *in this behalf and made it quite clear that this productive or economic aspect of craft-work should not be* allowed to over-shadow its educational aspect A little later, when the Central Advisory Board of Education and the Government of India accepted the new pattern of education, they too had some mental reservations regarding the feasibility of this aspect of the scheme Some basic institutions—notably those at the village of Sevagram which was the centre of Gandhiji's activities in his life-time and quite a few in the State of Bihar—decided to explore this possibility carefully in order to find out whether, without sacrificing educational objectives, students could contribute something to the cost of their own education It must be admitted that their experience has been quite promising In the *best* of these schools, it has been found that more than 50% of the recurring cost has been, or could be, met from the sale of articles produced Even in some of the ordinary basic schools, under favourable conditions, *at least the cost of the raw materials supplied* can be recovered from the sale proceeds of children's craft-work It would, however, be wrong to generalize too readily on the basis of these scattered experiments, because it is not possible to reproduce on a mass scale the conditions—including the workers' earnestness and enthusiasm—which characterise pioneering teachers and institutions On the basis of the available data, the general trend of opinion at present is that all possible avenues should be explored to increase resources for educational expansion and if, consistently with sound education, children can make saleable cloth or grow vegetables and cereals or prepare articles of paper or card-board or wood or clay, they should be encouraged to do so and the proceeds should be utilised for their education There is no doubt that, if the financial resources of the country were adequate for its needs, we *could* build up "activity schools" of the Western pattern where a large variety of educational occupations, with the necessary equipment, could be provided, enabling each child to express his constructive abilities freely and without any restrictions But we cannot wait indefinitely for such conditions to emerge and must do all we can to provide educational facilities for the millions of children who are deprived of them at present So, *in addition to exploring all other ways of increasing* educational finance, opinion is *veering round to* the desirability of exploring more carefully the productive possibilities of Basic Education But, above all, in the minds of our best educationists is the firm conviction that creative and constructive *work*, done cooperatively and with a social purpose, is the finest *medium of education* and that its full potentialities can only be exploited when children are trained to do it with the highest measure of efficiency and integrity of which they are capable

I do not wish to convey the impression that we have achieved a considerable fraction of what we are aiming at We have so far been able to establish only about 34,000 basic schools (of which the majority is in one of the States) as against about 2,14,000 ordinary primary schools in the country, and even these basic schools are of all kinds—good, bad and indifferent Considering the limitations under which we are working—of finances, personnel, organisation and training—this is not a matter for surprise Again, there is

the great force of inertia against which our progressive educationists have to contend—inertia of the educational system and inertia in the minds of the teachers and educational authorities A certain concept of school has grown up and become firmly entrenched during the last hundred years It cannot obviously be eradicated within a few years, nor can over a hundred thousand schools be "transformed' overnight But there is no doubt that this basic idea has an explosive quality and, wherever it has been implemented by earnest and intelligent teachers, it *has* changed the musty atmosphere of schools beyond recognition and even where only *some* of its features like "community living" and "community service" have been tried, it holds out the promise of a new educational dawn

The field of Secondary Education has been recently surveyed by the Mudaliar Commission which has tried to look upon the problem with fresh eyes and to envisage education not exclusively or even primarily in terms of courses, text books, classes or examination marks and certificates but as concerned with helping students to develop rich and disciplined personalities, conscious of well defined social purposes The aims of Secondary Education, as outlined in the Report, stress the cultivation of qualities like clear thinking effective study habits, use of manual skill, interest in books as a source of profit and pleasure, clarity and fluency in speech and writing, an appreciation of beauty, ability to face new problems and situations, and a sensitiveness to social issues and urges Teachers are invited to give more thought to the end products of their teaching, i e, not so much to the knowledge they impart as its impact on the mind and the personality The Commission has recommended strongly that, in the new pattern of Secondary Education the over academic emphasis in the curriculum should be redressed, that multi purpose schools with diversified courses should be established and due place given to vocational and technical subjects What precise form these multi purpose schools will take and how far they could replace unilateral schools will have to be worked out in the light of experience, in the various States The Report underlines the need for raising the quality and standards of education and recommends that the total duration of secondary education, to be given in "Higher Secondary Schools" should be increased to seven years, three years of which will correspond to senior basic or middle stage and four years to proper secondary education, envisaged as a self contained stage of education and not merely as a stepping stone to the college or the University It should equip the students to enter into different professions and services or into institutions providing specialised technical training At the same time, it should enable the more promising and 'academic' type of students to acquire sufficient intellectual maturity to enter the University for a straight three-year course

The teacher's real business is defined as not to teach *what* to think but *how* to think, for the technique of right thinking is far more important than the acquisition of encyclopaedic knowledge In this new approach, therefore, emphasis is to be placed *not* on the accumulation of information but on cultivating curiosity, intellectual alertness and a lively quality of mind which will equip the students to live intelligently in this world of "plural possibilities" And not *only* intelligently but also cooperatively, tolerantly and with charity and good-will, for without these qualities life can never become happy or peaceful or decent This accounts partly for the importance which is being increasingly given to various curricular and co curricular group activities, in which qualities needed for democratic citizenship can find full play The secondary school is also expected to work out the implications of the basic education idea in its own way, assimilating the principles of productive work, community living and social service The Commission has visualised it as a great social instrument for securing equality of opportunity for all talented youth so that they may be able to break through the limitation imposed by their financial circumstances and receive necessary training for the type of work that they are most fitted to do This involves many complicated questions pertaining to the selection of students—which have got to be tackled—and a provision of scholarships and free places for poor and meritorious students Democracy is apt to degenerate into demagogy and it can make no genuine contribution to improving the

quality and standards of life for the common man, if socially conscious and intelligent leadership on a decentralised basis is not developed and each local community does not participate effectively in the improvement and reconstruction of its collective life "The tyrannies that control the minds of men" in all the countries—fanaticism, superstition, racial prejudices and narrow sectional loyalties—are still undefeated and the Secondary School must take its place in the fight against them if national health and progress are to be ensured This is the approach that we are trying to instil in the minds of teachers through our Training Colleges, our Refresher Courses, our Headmasters' Seminars and various other "extension" activities.

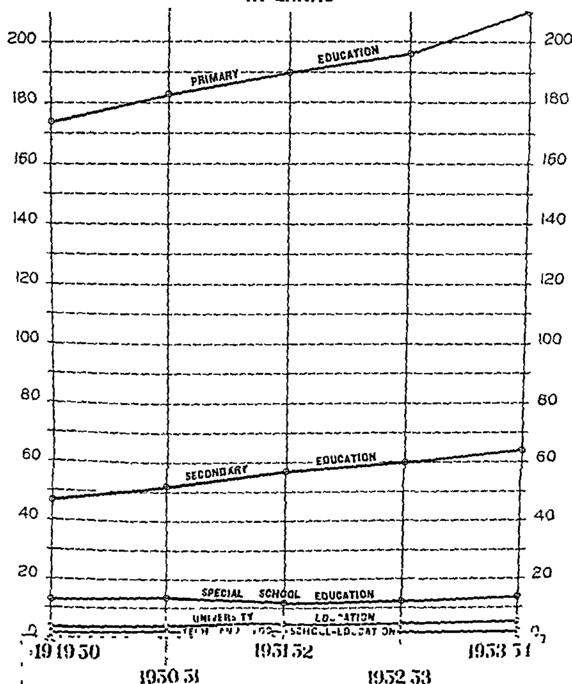
AN EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH

I wonder how many even well informed and educated people are aware of the large number of interesting and significant educational ideas and schemes which are being worked out in the country as part of the First Five-Year Plan and otherwise Education, except when it touches on politics directly or indirectly, is not a "headline catcher" and its results are not easily perceptible in a visible form It is, however, essential that they should know something of these projects so that both their criticism and appreciation may be well-informed and helpful I would therefore refer to certain projects of considerable interest and significance, initiated under the Plan, to work out, in a planned and experimental manner, the full implications and techniques of Basic (and Social) Education Realizing that the present resources at its disposal were not sufficient to meet the full needs of educational expansion all over the country, the Education Ministry came to the conclusion that Government should largely concentrate on assisting in the establishment of certain pilot projects and pioneering institutions in different States The object of this approach is to improve methods, techniques and curricula so that, in due course, there may be a carry-over of successful experiments and experiences from these institutions to others in the region and the general quality of education may be gradually improved This would provide useful, tested experience for the next stage when educational expansion on a nation-wide scale becomes possible

Under the Plan, a number of such projects have been formulated which are actually in operation The most important of these is the establishment, in *each* State, of a compact unit of basic institutions consisting of a Post graduate Basic Training College, with a demonstration school of senior basic standard, a Primary Teachers Training College, with two junior basic schools for practical demonstration, a few Community Centres for social education, a People's College for training village leaders and a library service for the villages in the neighbourhood These institutions have been provided with comparatively more adequate staff and equipment to ensure their functioning efficiently and experimentally, working out sound techniques of basic and social education They are to work as a compact educational unit, under coordinated supervision with the basic schools functioning as laboratories for the Training Colleges and the various agencies of social education being closely linked up with them so as to break down the walls that separate the school from the life around In all of them, emphasis will be placed on productive work, on correlating knowledge with life, on social service and community activities After a reasonable period, the impact of the whole group of institutions on the life of the local community will be carefully assessed If a school goes on working in a village or town for years without making its influence felt for the better in the life of the community then it has failed in one of its primary purposes and there is obviously something wrong with it. This combined "Operation Education", as it were, of the Community Centres and the basic institutions is designed to cover the entire community—the children as well as the adults—and help to raise the total quality of their life

Similarly, certain rural primary schools have been selected in each State to be developed as "schools-cum-community centres". In the past, most of the primary schools have been providing a somewhat formal and lifeless kind of education These reorganised schools are endeavouring to expand the scope of their activities, to prepare the children to participate in community life and to throw open their facilities to the local

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN SPECIFIC FIELDS



adults in the evenings so that they may engage in various social, cultural or educational activities in which they may be interested Some schools have added a modest "community hall" to their building for this purpose and necessary equipment—like games apparatus, musical instruments, material for craft-work and easy books and papers—has been provided to attract adults with varying interests The idea is that the school should become the natural focus of the social and cultural life of the village and the teacher should be able to assume his natural position of leadership amongst the villagers

Another project, which aims at the improvement of Secondary Education, has drawn a number of Secondary Training Colleges into cooperation in order to undertake research on practical problems relating to the work of secondary schools and the necessary financial resources have been placed at their disposal for the purpose These projects are rather modest in scope but varied in nature, *e g* , devising of intelligence and aptitude tests, research in children's vocabulary, analysis of text books, improvements in specific methods of teaching etc The Education Ministry is to make the results of these researches available, in due course, to all interested persons and institutions

Another project which was initiated last year with the cooperation of the Ford Foundation and T C M aims at organizing an Extension Service in Secondary Training Colleges so as to improve the working of secondary schools in their locality The teachers are, on the one hand, to be drawn into the Training College orbit as it were, and through seminars, refresher courses, workshops and discussion groups they are to be stimulated into creative work On the other hand, the Training College staff will go into these schools, study their problems on the spot and try to solve them through cooperative effort Twenty-four Training Colleges are already working under this scheme to try out new ideas to improve training techniques and to produce materials for teachers' guidance An all-India Council of Secondary Education is coordinating this as well as other activities for the reconstruction of Secondary Education on the approved pattern

Reference may also be made to another experiment started in 1954 for the improvement of Text Books to which little attention was given in the past A majority of the school books in use at present are unsatisfactory in point of content, presentation and production Some of the causes, responsible for this state of affairs, could perhaps be removed through administrative action or provision of additional financial resources But there are others which are due to lack of insight into the problems involved in the production *of good text books including the technical know-how In order to meet the pressing demand for better books,* the Central Government has established a small Bureau of Text Book Research, which is critically analysing existing text books, assessing their defects, formulating criteria and directives for authors, publishers and printers and it will, later, produce a few "model" text books for their guidance It is also proposed to include curricular research within the purview of this Bureau

Similarly, a Central Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance has been set up by the Central Ministry, and State Bureaus have been set up in some of the States to deal with the new and important problems which are arising as a result of the re organisation of education, particularly at the Secondary level This Bureau is working on the preparation of necessary material required for the guidance of students in the choice of courses and careers

These few instances of the new approach will show how the Education Ministry is dealing with the difficult question of raising educational standards in different types of institutions It is definitely committed to the view that the mechanical and uncritical expansion of the present system is detrimental to the educational interests of the country and the proper policy is to pave the way, steadily and firmly, for the development of an educational system which will be more closely and intelligently related to the needs and problems of the students as well as the adult community

THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS

The education of children and adolescents is, however, only one facet of the total educational situation of the country. An equally important problem is the education of the adults, the urgency and magnitude of which needs no underlining. In this field, considerable headway has been made in recent years partly as a result of the cumulative effort of earlier decades and partly in response to the demands of political situation and the emergence of democratic institutions. In the first place, the whole concept of adult education has been widened and deepened. It is no longer regarded as synonymous with the teaching of reading and writing but is envisaged as a movement for raising the whole quality of adult life and embracing within it topics and activities like health and hygiene, civic efficiency, recreation, simple craft training, general knowledge as well as reading and writing. Educationists are becoming increasingly convinced that, in many cases, starting with literacy will not do, as the ordinary adult, tired after the day's hard work (or failure to find work!) is not inclined to react favourably to dull lessons in reading and writing. If, instead, something can be done to make his life more pleasant and meaningful or to add a little to his capacity to earn, it would be much easier to win his interest and cooperation and the demand for literary and general education will follow in due course. A good deal of useful knowledge can, moreover, be imparted even before the adult has acquired literacy with the help of suitable types of audio visual aids, which traditionally, too have played an important part in adult education in India. In many States, social education work has been going on for years with varying measure of success. Thousands of devoted teachers and other voluntary social workers have taken it up as a labour of love and students in schools and colleges have also been running educational centres for the adult population. In addition, the cooperation of industrial concerns and of police and jail authorities etc. has been obtained in many places in order to extend social education amongst labourers, members of the police force, prisoners and other compact groups who are easily accessible. Considerable stimulus has been given to the movement in the Community Projects where trained social education workers are being employed to carry on their work side by side with other trained workers in the fields of medicine, agriculture, cottage industries etc. in the common effort to re-build village life. Many informal agencies like mobile cinema and drama vans, exhibitions, tours and excursions etc. are being pressed into service and attempts have been made to cater to the needs of special groups through youth clubs, women's clubs etc.

I might call special attention to the efforts that are being made for the production of suitable reading material likely to be of interest to adults. The paucity of such literature in the various Indian languages has made it necessary for the Central Government to take the initiative in this direction. Considerable progress has been done in recent years through a happy cooperation between the Central and State Governments on the one hand, and voluntary organisations working in this field on the other. Several hundred booklets and pamphlets for neo literates and others, dealing with subjects of everyday interest, have been published and schemes for expanding and intensifying this effort are in hand. The compilation of a People's Encyclopaedia, to provide reading for pleasure as well as profit, the preparation of commissioned books on subjects of general cultural interest—written, specially for the not-highly educated adults, are some of the new ventures which have been taken up. The Central Government have not only sponsored and financed the production of books but have also helped to organize Seminars and Literary Workshops to train writers for neo-literates and published some material likely to be of direct use to authors, publishers and book artists. In this work they have had the welcome cooperation of international and national organisations like UNESCO, the Ford Foundation and the Indian Adult Education Association. In addition to books being written specially for the purpose, prizes have been offered to authors and publishers of books for adults and children and the bulk purchase of copies of approved publications is done to stimulate nation-wide interest in the production of literature of good quality that will meet the needs of an emergent democracy. In order to place the movement on a more durable foundation, it has been linked up closely with the growing library

nent artists and men of letters in indigent circumstances as also to young and promising, but financially handicapped, writers, musicians, dramatists, film artists and painters to enable them to carry on their work with peace of mind A National Art Treasures Fund has been set up under the Chairmanship of the Education Minister to acquire art objects for the National Art Gallery and the National Museum which are being developed as institutions worthy of the nation Another arresting and unique experiment in this field, which deserves at least passing mention, related to the encouragement of children's Art and Writing For the last five years, the well known Shankar's Weekly has been bringing out an Annual Children's Number in which selections from the creative writings and self expressional drawings of children between the ages of 3 and 16 are published and prizes are awarded to the best entries under each age group As the competition is open to *all the children of the world*—34000 entries were received this year from 56 countries—it has not only helped to release unsuspected creative talent in children and given a new direction to the teaching of art and literature, but it has become a most attractive medium for promoting international understanding and friendship at a most significant level amongst the children of the world It is only an unimaginative misanthrope who could belittle the importance of such a venture in this war minded and hatred tossed world While the inspiration for this creative venture came from an individual of imagination, Government and public leaders have given enthusiastic support and encouragement Perhaps it may be claimed, without overstepping the bonds of modesty, that education in India has been readily responsive to ideas of internationalism and peace and its educationists are beginning to realize that *creative* education, which releases repressed impulse and unwinds the complexes of fear and hate and aggressiveness, can make the most powerful contribution to building up a mentality and climate of peace

This tendency is being further strengthened through the exchange of cultural delegations of artists, students and teachers with other countries, through the activities of the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO and through measures designed to promote education for living in a world community

This rapid and rather sketchy survey will give some idea of what we have been able to achieve as also of the long, long road that we have yet to travel to attain our goal At every step in this journey, we come up against the question of the financial resources, whose inadequacy is the biggest hurdle in our way How is this to be crossed? Frankly, I have no royal and easy way out to suggest As I visualize it, the problem can be solved only gradually and by working simultaneously on many fronts The basic remedy is, of course, the increase in national wealth through agricultural and industrial development and to this our efforts are at presnt directed with a near grim determination Secondly, there has to be keener realization of the high priority of education in all schemes of development Even within the present tight financial economy, money is sometimes found for other projects—some, to my way of thinking, less urgent—more easily than for education! Thirdly, by improving the quality of education and demonstrating its healthy impact on the life of the people, public co operation in this great work has to be secured in the fullest measure Through such co operation, we can often achieve what even Government resources are unable to do In one of the States, for instance, the head of a district administration was able to get about 600 primary schools built within a couple of years through the voluntary effort of local people—something which the Education Department had not been able to do in a decade out of its own resources! Fourthly, we shall have to explore the productive possibilities of basic and post basic education for what they are worth and even if this enables us to meet the recurring expense on craft materials or help the children in meeting a part of their personal expenditure, it will be a valuable asset Investment in education is an act of faith and imagination because, as I have already pointed out, its returns are not only slow but not easily perceptible either To the extent that national policy is inspired by faith in education, it will manage to find neces-

sary funds with increasing success and this will, in its turn, contribute effectively to the improvement of national resources

I have attempted to provide a well balanced survey of our educational situation its difficulties as well as the achievements of the last few years in the face of heavy, almost unbearable, odds As I have said at the outset, viewed against the magnitude of the work yet to be done, these achievements are modest viewed against the background of what we inherited from the British regime, they should give some cause for satisfaction and hope. There is a tendency in some quarters to belittle what has been done—this may be due to lack of adequate information or commendable impatience to go forward more quickly or an attitude of cynical pessimism which delights in running down every thing rather than attempting a fair appraisal Lack of knowledge about what is being done in the field of education can be easily remedied by studying readily available material in the form of Reports and other published documents, well-meaning impatience should bear in mind that the progress of education, as of all other schemes of national reconstruction, depends on the resources available and cannot proceed far ahead of them and that the educational seed grows only slowly, almost imperceptibly For the "professional pessimist" there is no remedy except to exchange his pleasant occupation of irresponsible criticism for actual participation in some worthwhile constructive activity which is a sure antidote against a sense of frustration I am as conscious as anyone else of our low standards, our ill equipped and overcrowded schools and colleges, our under paid and dissatisfied teachers and the anxious problem of indiscipline which is looming so large in our discussions. But I venture to suggest that, given the conditions under which we have been working—the patently inadequate resources, the limitations which are inherent in a democratic set up, the fact that the various States are primarily responsible for education within their jurisdiction—no other country could have achieved *much* more during this brief period of seven or eight years, of which the first three or four were devoted, in a sense, to a magnificent struggle just to *survive* as a nation after the holocaust of partition The educational measures that have been taken during this period, are bound to bear fruit in due course, not only because education is inherently a plant of slow growth but also because every educational reform has to contend against the inertia of the status quo, of established ways of thinking and methods of teaching and of a personnel brought up in a different tradition To some extent, therefore, the surprize is not that more has not been done but that so much has been actually attempted and achieved

May I conclude by saying that the educational situation in the country offers a challenge which is as difficult as it is bracing ? The main problems have been surveyed with reasonable thoroughness and the Centre as well as the States have worked out their schemes of reconstruction To implement them successfully we need vastly increased financial resources as well as larger, better trained and more efficient personnel But we need also better coordination of the various educational schemes in the States The Centre is attempting to provide necessary guidance for this purpose, not indeed with the object of enforcing any rigid educational pattern on the country but for ensuring a broad national approach and a basic measure of uniformity, particularly in standards and objectives In a free, democratic country there may be—indeed there will be—many different roads and avenues but they should all eventually lead to a social and cultural Rome, cherished in common A voluntary acceptance of the highest national objectives and purposes can only be brought about through a wisely directed educational policy which would be elastic without being ineffective Such a policy can contribute powerfully to evolving a pattern of national unity which will be able to accommodate differences and not be disrupted by them

IF before Independence the world outside thought about India at all, it was of an India which was called the brightest jewel in the British Crown, an India of snakes and tigers, peacocks and elephants, where lived princes *in unbelievable splendour Some might have heard about the Taj Mahal* and of the monuments and relics of vanished civilizations Others might have heard about the "Naked Fakir" who dreamt of driving the alien rulers not by force of arms but by non violence, in thought, speech and action, and by passive resistances To the Indologists, India was only a country with a gorgeous past To a few it was a land of great yogis and sanyasis Very few knew that there was in India a pulsating intellectual life, even though they may have heard about poets like Rabindranath Tagore, philosophers like Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, scientists like Chandrasekhar Venkata Raman and Jagadish Chandra Bose and artists like Abanindranath Tagore , they knew nothing of many who dreamt and wrought, side by side with the fighters for India's freedom Hardly anything was known of the dances and music of India and of the vigorous literature in the many languages of India

One of the first tasks which the National Government set before itself was to develop the cultural life of the country, to bring the country into living contact with the cultural life of other countries and to give all encouragement and support to the scientific workers, to the literary men, to the singer, the dancer and the artist

But a year or two passed before the National Government could bring order into the general administration of the country which had been disrupted by the sudden departure, immediately before or soon after Independence, of nearly all British and most Muslim officers in all branches of administration and defence The position had been made much more difficult by large-scale influx of displaced persons both from the Western provinces and the Eastern provinces of the newly formed state of Pakistan.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES

It is interesting to recall that the Asiatic Society of Bengal (then known as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) had proposed even before the establishment of the National Government the formation of a National Trust for stimulating the development of Indian culture in all its aspects and had recommended the establishment of the academies of Arts, of Letters, and of Dance, Drama and Music

In 1949, the Education Minister of India summoned a conference at Calcutta of the representatives of the Union and the State Governments and of a party of a large number of artists and art critics of repute from all over India to consider schemes for the promotion of art in the country The first result of this conference was the appointment of a Committee to formulate the constitution of a Central Advisory Board of Art, the function of which was to advise Government on all matters relating to the promotion of the arts This was merely an interim measure, pending the establishment of a National Academy of Art The Committee so appointed, met in December, 1949, and recommended certain objectives to be set for implementation, and the Advisory Body proceeded to draw up the constitution of a small organisation to be called the Bharat Kala Samiti, which was to consist of 7 practising artists 5 art critics and 3 officially appointed members This Samiti met for the first time in April, 1950 and among other things a sub committee for publication was appointed which later drew up a scheme to publish albums of paintings sculptures and bronzes In 1953 the Bharat Kala Samiti was dissolved and the National Academy of Art (Lalit Kala Akadami) was created, and it was formally inaugurated in August, 1954 The primary function of this Academy is to encourage and promote the study and research in the fields of painting sculptures, architecture and applied arts The academy is also to coordinate the activities of the regional or State Academies, promote cooperation among art associations, encourage exchange of ideas between various schools of art, publish literature on art and foster national and international contacts through exhibitions and exchange of personnel and art objects

The National Academy of Art functions through a General Council with an Executive Board and has a Finance Committee and other standing committees as may be required to carry out the work of the Academy The General Council consists of one representative of each of the States, 5 nominees of the Government of India, 15 representatives of the Art Associations recognised by the Academy and 9 eminent artists elected by the General Council The Academy has begun its publication programme by bringing out a portfolio of contemporary paintings and has also published a set of 12 picture postcards in colour mostly of Rajput paintings, a brochure entitled Indian Art through the ages, an album of Moghul miniatures, and an album of Kangra paintings Among its forthcoming publications are an album of Udaipur paintings and a brochure of Gujarati paintings The copying of the frescoes at Badami, in the Bijapur District of Bombay, in the same size as the originals is already in progress

An important programme of the Academy is a detailed countrywide survey of the surviving folk arts and crafts and the working conditions of the craftsmen A beginning has already been made with a survey in West Bengal, and a survey to cover the Punjab is also being taken up The first Exhibition sponsored by the Academy was that of Canadian paintings, organised by the Academy of Fine Arts Calcutta, which was shown in Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Another exhibition, that of Hungarian folk arts was opened in Calcutta on 14th February 1955, which was also on view in Bombay and Delhi The first national Exhibition of Art to be organised by the Academy was inaugurated by the President of India on March 22 1955, in Delhi, selected items from this Exhibition were subsequently shown in other important centres of the country The Academy has instituted prizes for the best exhibits, the highest being a gold plaque and a cash prize of Rs 2000 There are a number of other awards, two cash prizes of Rs 1000 each, two of Rs 500 each and four of Rs 250 each for other deserving exhibits

In March 1951, a conference on letters was held in Delhi which recommended a draft constitution for a National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Akadamy) for the encouragement and coordination of literary activities in all the Indian languages. The constitution of this academy was drawn up in consultation with the State Governments and important literary societies. The supreme authority of the Academy vests in a General Council consisting of one nominee of each of the Indian States, representatives of the 14 languages of India enumerated in the Constitution, representatives of the Universities of India, 5 nominees of the Government of India, chosen for their eminence in the field of letters with two representatives each of the National Academy of Dance, Drama and Music and of the National Academy of Art. The General Council works through an Executive Board. The Academy requested the States to recommend the names of authentic literary organisations as well as eminent writers and scholars in their respective areas. The main objective of the Academy is to make the people of India conscious of the essential unity of Indian literature, written in many languages. One of the first tasks the Academy has set before itself is the publication of a national bibliography of Indian literature. This bibliography will include all books of significance and of literary merit, published in the 20th century, in the fourteen major languages specified in the Constitution of India as well as books in English published in India or written by Indian authors. The term 'literature' for the purpose of bibliography has been liberally defined so as to include all important books written in all the languages. The other activities of the Academy include the publication of a bibliography of all books published in India since 1954, a "Who's Who" of Indian literature, edited texts of all the works of Kalidasa, prose, poetry, drama and short stories in the Indian languages and the publication of a standard work in English and Hindi of the history and development of modern Indian literature. The writers and scholars in each language have been invited to recommend the best works, both ancient and modern in their languages which in their opinion are suitable for translation into other Indian languages. The Government of India announced prizes of Rs 5000 each for the most outstanding books published since Independence in the fourteen languages. The books are chosen by the National Academy of Letters in consultation with the appropriate Advisory Boards. In 1955 altogether 12 awards were made; no composition in English or Sanskrit was considered sufficiently outstanding to merit the award.

The Academy will have also a maximum number of 21 Fellows who will be nominated by virtue of their established reputation as literary men on the pattern of the awards to the membership of the French Academy.

The first of the National Academies to be established was the National Academy of Dance, Drama and Music (Sangeet Natak Academy) which was inaugurated in January 1953. Its chief objective is to foster and develop Indian dance, drama and music and to promote through them the cultural unity of the country. The Academy is to coordinate the activities of regional organisations, promote research, set up training institutions and sponsor cultural exchanges in the field of dance, drama and music. The Academy has a General Council consisting of representatives of the organisations connected with drama and music, two representatives each of the National Academy of Letters and the National Academy of Art, two representatives each of the Academies of Hindustani and Carnatic Music, five nominees of the Central Government and eight eminent artists in the field of dance, drama and music elected by the General Council. It also has an Executive Board, a Finance Committee and other standing or *ad hoc* committees which may be appointed as necessity arises. The main task that the Academy has before itself at present is the establishment of [illegible]ies in the States. These have already been formed and are actively working in [illegible] Bihar, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Madras, Orissa, Saurashtra and Rajasthan. The National Academy has built up an impressive library of books, rare records of vocal and instrumental music and documentary films. It has accorded recognition to about 56 institutions and given generous grants to various organisations. Its programme of work includes the institution of awards



for dances, drama and folk dances, administration of the President's Awards for music, sponsoring of annual drama festival, organisation of films seminars, filming and recording of eminent musicians and the collection of Rag and Thal paintings

Indian dancing is gradually coming to be recognized as one of the priceless artistic heritages of the world Dancing in India originally developed round the temple as one of its major rituals, in Northern India it also flourished in the Royal courts and in the houses of big landowners, only in comparatively recent years it has been brought before the public on the stage Broadly speaking, Indian dancing can be divided into two types—the "Tandava" the "Lasya" Tandava is vigorous and virile while Lasya is characterised by grace and delicacy Every dancer is required to acquire both the movements so as to preserve a balance between vigour and grace Gestures or *mudras* are the essence of Indian dancing, any story or incident or shade of emotion or the idea of well known animals and flowers can be eloquently expressed through them A mastery of this gesture language is all important in a good dance performance, and no dancer is great unless he or she has the capacity to convey a wide and subtle range of ideas through these *mudras*

There are four main schools of dances in India Bharata Natyam, Kathakali, Kathak and Manipuri Bharata Natyam perhaps represents the purest and the oldest form of the Indian tradition This is always executed by a single dancer, generally a woman dancer The music consists of a singer or singers and a group of drummers The sung music functions like a commentary on the dance

Kathakali of Malabar is the most dramatic form of Indian dancing It literally means ' story play" and employs many dancers usually drawing its themes from the epics It is the popular art of Kerala in South India Formerly almost every aristocratic family of Kerala had a troupe of Kathakali actors and musicians under its patronage Then there was a change as a result of the young people receiving a western education, and Kathakali dancers fell on difficult times But fortunately there has again been a changed outlook in the country, largely due to the efforts of the great Kerala poet, Vallathol, and his now famous Kerala Kalamandalam Kathakali Institute founded in 1930 This ancient art with its varied grace and subtleties of dramatic expression, has again become a living tradition Kathakali is a complex art composed of three fine arts, acting, dancing and music It is a pantomime in which the actors do not speak or sing, but interpret their ideas and emotions through a highly sensitive medium of *mudras*, appropriate gestures, picturesque hand poses, and vivid facial expressions perfectly intelligible even to the uninitiated Such an elaborately codified system of a dumb yet eloquent kind of expression is the unique distinction of Kathakali and it may justly claim to be one of the richest and strangest gifts which India has presented to the world Language of gestures and *mudras* adopted is used as a substitute for spoken language and is as much suited for the purpose of dance as for drama Musicians sing and the meaning is translated by the actors at once into this silent language of facial expressions, body attitudes and poses, and figuration of the hands The actors act and dance *in harmony with the rhythm as well as the sense of the songs* Though Kathakali is essentially an art of Kerala it is now widely spread The simplicity of external atmosphere, the absence of any arrangement for scenery or of stage lighting, the manly vigour of its dance, the fullness and profundity of its histrionic expression, bold and forceful in every line, and the dancers with their most wonderful head dresses and elaborate facial make up hold the spectators spell bound

The Kathak school, which is peculiar to North India, shows the impact of the Muslim influence While its elegance and sophistry are derived from the Mughal Court, its technical evolutions and complicated rhythms are of indigenous origin, and there has been no departure from the traditional fundamentals

The Manipuri school is essentially lyrical and on the whole lighter Manipuri dance belongs essentially to Manipur in the north eastern border of Assam, and was made popular by Rabindranath Tagore by incorporating features from it in his dance-dramas Manipuri dancing is in four forms Laiharoba, Astra-Vidya, Chalan Gathan and Rasa Lila The first of these is the oldest form of dance known in Manipur, and is in the form of a dance drama, composed of solo, duet and group dances depicting the stories from the Manipuri epic The dances are simple , their rhythm, movements and expressions appear to be somewhat unvaried and bordering on the primitive But the group dances in which as many as a hundred or more usually participate have a vivid and vigorous appeal, with colourful costumes and its powerful grouping of the dancers The second type consists of acrobatic dances There are sword and spear dances, mock fights and war dances, which call for great agility and supple strength which can only be acquired after years of training In olden days it was almost compulsory for men to learn these dances, though sometimes there were also women who performed these dances , and there are even now living some old women practitioners of this type of dancing

The third type is truly a devotional dance in which Manjira, Karatala and Khol (the Manipuri Mridang) constitute important accessories This dance marks the advent of Vaishnavism in Manipur The dancers singing the devotional songs move to the accompaniment of the drumming on the Khol in slow rhythmic movements, while the leader comes forward and dances in a series of quick and intricate foot patterns and striking postures The classical technique is still preserved and practised to a certain extent in this type of dances The last type, the Rasa Lila is the principal dance of Manipur It depicts scenes from the life of Shri Krishna in a series of elaborate dances, supported by songs, and is now the most popular of all Manipuri dances The dances of Manipur classical or otherwise, ' have rhythmical subtlety, slow suspense, speed, lyricism drama The parts of each dance are functionally interdependent, and the whole is illumined by *a beauty that transcends the suggestive allurements of mere sensual grace Profoundly they express* the inwardness of life and love "

In addition to these four schools of dances, there are folk dances of the countryside Every part of India has its folk art, solo group and dance dramas each expressing the uniqueness of the life and thought around Essentially, all Indian dances have a fundamental kinship Their aesthetics, their theories and practices are derived from the same source They point to an ancient art, highly developed and highly stylised

In the Kathakali and the Manipuri dances the dance and the drama are closely knit together In fact the Kathakali can rightfully claim to be the noblest surviving example of the traditional theatre We find drama and dancing closely associated in the Bhagavata Mela Nataka in Tamil Nad, especially at Tanjore, in the Yakshagana of the Carnatac in the Kuchipudi natya, based on technique derived from Bharata Natyam in Andhra

The ancient dramatic tradition generally weakened in the north, especially after the Muslim invasion But the popular drama flourished as in the jatra of Bengal, in the Ram Lila of Uttar Pradesh and in the episodes from the life of Krishna staged by the Rasadharies of Mathura in the country round Brindaban, in the Lalita of Maharashtra and also in performances of the folk drama in Gujarat But the influence of the West created a bias in favour of elaborate stage technique and the indigenous folk theatre came temporarily into disrepute There has lately been a revival of interest in the folk dramas and the part that our National Government has played in infusing a new life into the folk theatre is of great significance The National Academy of Dance, Drama and Music has as one of its aims to foster the growth of a modern Indian theatre with a national identity of its own by giving financial and other assistance to its practitioners

and by conducting research and publishing books to help the national theatre to develop along traditional lines The aim of a national theatre would not be to suppress the strong individualism characteristic bias and the particular idiom of the various linguistic areas of India in favour of uniformity but rather to foster these very characteristics so that the inherent richness of these traditions is preserved

Indian music has been cultivated as a living art for nearly 3000 years The ancient music of India has been handed down from the master to the disciple through the generations and an intimate and secret association between them was considered intrinsic to the inculcation of Indian art In the olden days, Indian music was sung in the royal chamber where the patron was content to hear the artist sing in response to an inner creative urge Or the song was heard in the sanctum of a temple while the musician offered his devotion to God The public concert was unknown and this chamber music did not have to subserve popular taste A guild of hereditary musicians thus grew up under the protection of an aristocratic society for its exclusive entertainment

There are today two principal schools of Indian music the Hindustani school of the North and the *Carnatic school of the South The differences between northern and southern music* are purely one of style The music of the north has been subjected to Persian and Arabic influences, but Carnatic music has preserved the purity of its traditions Some of the fine musical instruments were brought by the Persians to India , and Persian influence has in the main enriched North Indian music

The differences between Indian and Western music may be said to be fundamental They relate to content as well as to technique ' The devotion and subjectivity of Indian music are both the products of a different cultural atmosphere, and its ethos has been preserved for posterity in its music Indian music is a melodic art while Western music is harmonic It has been aptly said that Western music is like a vast building where every brick, arch and pillar falls into its appointed place to produce a unity conceived by the architect , or, that it is like a big picture whose various elements blend to produce a well composed whole Western music thus impresses its listner as much by its range as by its harmony "The value of a note in Western music is judged by its adaptability to the central harmony In fact, it serves no purpose by itself Its meaning is fixed only in relation to the other notes of the chord heard in accompaniment Even when a Westerner hears an unaccompanied melody, a European folk song, for example, the music becomes complete to him only when his imagination has provided the implied harmony This is because European music is a compromise between melodic freedom and harmonic necessity It is harmony that has made the triumphs of orchestration in the West possible "

It has to be realized that in order to appreciate the purely melodic Indian music, the ear must be trained to receive pure intonation The concept of harmony either implied or explicit is precluded by its very nature The introduction of harmony would even violate the melodic unity of a song The greatest Indian music is mainly vocal music and melody is a peculiar quality of the voice The highest art is wholly extempore and the Indian musician is a creative artist While rendering a particular *raga*, he has considerable scope for improvisation Unlike the musical artist in the West, whose merit lies in the exact reproduction and interpretation of the works of great composers, the Indian musician improvises within the framework of a given theme There are certain characteristics of Indian music that follow logically from its melodic nature , the primacy of the melody, a particular relation of the accompaniments to the song, the importance attaching to improvisation and the absence of any serious concerted music Another feature of Indian music is its elaborate grace To the Western observer, who is used to hearing a number of notes simultaneously, grace appears to be a superfluous elaboration, especially when it does not form part of the main structure and is merely added to the note

The Indian melody is governed by the *raga*, "mode" is the nearest equivalent to it in Western musical parlance, but the *raga* is a more definitive concept It has been defined as the "melody-mould or the ground plan" of a song which the master first of all communicates to the pupil and "to sing is to improvise upon the theme thus defined" It is a selection of five, six or seven notes distributed along the scale The notes and their sequence are thus both important and there is no modulation of any kind Modulation and free change of key are indeed the conditions of harmony as in Western music In all there are 72 septatonic *ragas* and each of them is the basis of several pentatonic and hexatonic *ragas* Some of the *ragas* have an interesting origin Some like the *Pahari* are derived from folk-songs, while others like the *Jog* are based on the songs of wandering ascetics There are some *ragas* which excite devotional moods and others are amorous in their inspiration The theme of Indian music is another point of difference from Western music A piece of Western music can tell a story or depict an external situation It is thus the objectified story of an observer beholding a world without As opposed to this, Indian music is real and relevant only in subjective terms It employs the method of subjection and not description It is therefore no accident that the preponderant theme of Indian music should be human and divine love Actually, the two are not considered mutually incompatible, for they both referred to the intense participation characteristic of valid human relationship Underlying all classical Indian art, there is a suggestion that the erotic and spiritual instincts in man are essentially allied and derive from a common basis

Though Indian music has its finest expression in vocal music it is not that Indian instrumental music is not also highly developed The variety and number of the musical instruments in use in India rival those of Europe Of these, the Vina is probably the most outstanding There are two varieties of this instrument in popular use today, one in the north and the other in the south It consists of a fretboard mounted on two large gourds and seven strings Four of them actually pass over the frets, the other three serve as a drone to provide a pendal point background The instrument is played by a deflection of the strings which are plucked by the right hand and the notes made with the left It is said to be capable of an infinite number of nuannces of microtonal grace

The Sitar is a popular stringed instrument in North India Its invention is credited to a Persian poet at the court of Alauddin Khilji, in the fourteenth century It has seven strings and is played by metal nails fixed to the player's fingers

The Sarode is in common use in Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab It has a deep seated tone and is played with a plectrum

The Mridanga is perhaps the most developed and the most ancient of all the percussion instruments in the country It served as a drum for chamber music in olden times It is now used as an accompaniment for both vocal and instrumental music The Mridangam of the south and Pakhawaj of the north are designed on the same principles and differ only in minor details

There had been for some time amongst the western educated Indians a lack of interest in the classical music of India as also in the rich folk music of the various states of India The National Government has done a great deal to educate public taste by encouraging the holding of music conferences by non official organizations, by financial and other assistance, and by All India Radio putting on the air examples of Indian classical and folk music There is already a great interest all over India as can be seen, say at Calcutta, where literally hundreds who are unable to secure seats at the Music Conferences held in the city, squat outside the theatres where these conferences are held throughout the night and listen to the music relayed by the organizers through loud-speakers

In the past, musicians and dancers were attached to the local Princes and rich landowners on whose patronage they were sustained—the alien rulers of the country did not appreciate Indian music or even classical Indian dancing and extended no patronage to the practitioners of these arts The National Government has not only lavishly extended its patronage to the artists, painters and sculptors musicians and dancers but is doing a good deal to fo ter art consciousness among the masses

The Academy of Dance, Drama and Music sponsored the National Drama Festival organized by the Delhi Natya Sangh, the first of its kind in India and inaugurated by the President of India on the 22nd November 1954 During the festival which lasted well over a month, 21 plays in 14 Indian languages including Sanskrit and a Greek play in English were staged These plays were selected out of 102 plays which had, in the first instance, been staged during the regional drama festivals at 18 different centres The Theatre Centre India utilized the festival for organizing symposia on subjects like ' the place of music and dance in drama", "the problem of the verse drama" The plays were divided into three categories traditional, folk and modern

CULTURAL SCHOLARSHIPS

The National Government instituted scholarships of a monthly value of Rs 250 each for young workers who had shown outstanding promise in cultural activity such as fine arts music dance, drama and films These scholarships are open to our people between 18 and 35 years of age and the scholars are selected by a Selection Committee set up by the Ministry of Education Over 2000 applications were received out of which 49 selected scholars were chosen There is now a tendency among the students of more than average merit to take up studies on natural sciences and technological subjects to the neglect of the Humanities This is understandable in view of the large scale development plans for industrialization But the National Government realizes that it is essential that this imbalance should be corrected and has instituted a number of research scholarships in the Humanities to encourage the study of these subjects

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ARTISTS, WRITERS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Artists and writers, who occupy eminent positions in their particular fields but are in straitened circumstances, are being assisted by the National Government by regular monthly grants and also by the payment of lumpsum grants

There are several organizations engaged in cultural activities and in advancing the cause of literature but which badly need financial assistance both to continue the work they are doing and also for the expansion of their activities These have been liberally assisted by the National Government Both recurrent grants and building grants where necessary have been made to several institutions including the Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta which has been doing valuable work in translating Buddhist texts from Pali Sanskrit into Hindi , the Anjuman Taraqqi e Urdu which looks after the interests of the Urdu language the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture which is rendering unique international service in the cultural sphere, (building grants and also recurrent grants and lump grants for the publication of the Cultural Heritage of India' and ' Great Women of India' was paid to this Institute) the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay, doing valuable work in literature, history, philosophy and for Indian cultural activities the Hindustani Cultural Society of Allahabad with its programme of cultural publications especially those promoting Hindu Muslim unity , the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan of Allahabad devoted to the propagation and development of the Hindi language (it has been given Rs 5 lakhs for the construction of the Sammelan building in Allahabad) , and the Hindustani Prachar Sabha of Wardha which has been working for the propagation of Hindustani as the common medium of intercourse throughout the country

AWARDS TO MUSICIANS, DANCERS AND ACTORS

From 1952 onwards, a system of annual awards to eminent artists was instituted to give state recognition to their services to the cultural life of the country These awards were made mostly to senior men and women in recognition of the established reputation and past achievements of these artists The awards consisted of a woollen shawl, a gold bracelet, a "Sanad" and a cash prize of Rs 1000 to musicians and actors and a brocade shawl, a gold necklace, a "Sanad" and a cash prize of Rs 1000 to dancers In the first three years the awards were made only to eminent musicians of the Hindustani and Carnatic schools but from 1955 awards are also being made for dancing and acting in addition to music

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AND GALLERY OF ART

The Asiatic Society of Bengal initiated a movement for establishing a National Museum in India Government accepted the suggestion and a scheme for a Central Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology was drawn up by the Director General of Archaeology in India in 1945 and, in the pre Independence days, a committee with Sir Maurice Gwyer as its chairman was appointed to examine the project The detailed report of the committee which was published in 1946 was accepted by the Ministry of Education in 1947 and a site for the proposed National Museum was selected near the Junction of the Jan Path (Queensway) and Raj Path (Kingsway) in New Delhi The nucleus of the National Museum was formed out of the exhibits of the Exhibition of Indian Art and Archaeology held in London in 1947-48 The entire collection displayed at the Exhibition was brought to Delhi and an Indian Art Exhibition was organized at the Rashtrapati Bhavan A favourable response was received from the owners of the art objects to the appeal of the Government for an extended loan of the articles and they are now being exhibited in the National Museum which was established and formally opened by the President on the Independence Day, 1949 The present collection is drawn mainly from the museums under the control of the Department of Archaeology and it is being enriched by the new acquisitions of the Art Purchase Committee The collection, as a whole, presents a comprehensive picture of the art and culture of India through the ages, and ranging from prehistoric times to the end of the 18th century

In the Museum several temporary exhibitions of objects, mostly loaned from outside, were held, the first of these exhibitions being rare palmleaf manuscripts, books on Indian Philosophy, poetry, rhetoric and drama Later, exhibitions of Indonesian and Chinese art were also held The construction of its own building for the National Museum has already been taken in hand

Government of India ever since India became independent was contemplating to have a National Gallery of Art in India s Capital This took final shape when the National Gallery of Modern Arts was inaugurated at Jaipur House on 29th March, 1954 It wisely decided to restrict the exhibits in this National Gallery to works of art belonging to the period after 1850 onwards The year 1850 may be considered a convenient point of time, for by then the old schools of art had lost their vitality and newer styles of painting inspired by contacts with the west began to come into being The work of collecting modern paintings first started when 30 paintaings of Amrita Sher Gill was purchased in 1948 49 The Gallery now has 96 paintings from this very gifted artist

Amrita Sher Gill, daughter of an Indian father and a Hungarian mother, died at the age of only 29 in 1941, she left behind her a collection most of which was painted in the last few years of her life Her art exhibits a surprisingly mature style and a manner of amazing originality showing a simplification of significant forms It has been claimed for her by competent critics that her works are "comparable in quality to that of the greatest painters of this or any other age" The National Gallery has also 13 well-

chosen paintings of that other giant of modern paintings, Jamini Ray His work based on true Bengali folk art in simple, flat colours with bold black contour lines, though thoroughly Indian in feeling, are surprisingly modern. Other paintings are from Rabindranath Tagore, and many masterpieces of the Bengal school of revivalism from Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, A R Chugtai (now in Pakistan) and also works of the what may be called the neo-Gujarati painters, though they are found all over India, who draw their inspiration from the highly stylized book illuminations of the 15th century Gujarat There are also a number of paintings of the present day expressionists, such as Sailoz Mukherjee and Avinash Chandra It has also been decided to transfer from the National Museum to the Gallery all works of art belonging to the period from 1950 onwards

To mark the inauguration of the Gallery, an exhibition of contemporary Indian sculpture was organized by the Ministry of Education on the occasion and a parallel exhibition of photographs showing the growth of Indian Sculpture from the time of Mohenjodaro and Harappa to the end of the 18th century was also arranged to enable the visitors to compare the Indian sculptural exhibits with the monuments of the past It is hoped that the Gallery will soon have permanently some of the outstanding plastic works by Indian sculptors

CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

An exchange of cultural programmes to strengthen the cultural bonds between India and the other countries by cultural exchange programmes was actively encouraged In 1952 the first exhibition of Indian Art was held in China and Japan, and this proved to be so popular that the collection was sent also to Australia for display Another exhibition was sent on tour to important cities in the U S A and Canada in 1953 This exhibition was sponsored by the Ministry of Education and organised jointly by the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta, and the All India Association of Fine Arts, Bombay In the same year, the All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, New Delhi, sent an exhibition to the Soviet Union in response to an invitation from the Soviet Academy of Arts This exhibition visited Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad in the U S S R , Warsaw and Cracow in Poland and also some cities in Germany The National Government also sponsored an exhibition organized by Shri Subho Tagore of Indian Arts through the Ages, intended to give a representative picture of Indian Art consisting of masterpieces of sculpture from Nalanda, a selection of paintings of Mughal and Rajput schools, paintings of contemporary artists folk paintings and toys, illustrated ancient manuscripts, bronze works of South India, metal works and wood carvings and old jewellery and other objects of art This exhibition is visiting the Middle East, Europe and South America. Government of India are also participating in an exhibition organised under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, for which about 400 paintings have been collected to represent India

In 1954 55, delegations of Indian artists and University students and teachers visited the U S S R Another delegation participated in the World Fellowship of Buddhists , lecturers were also sent to Trinidad and to British East Indies to teach Hindi to the Indian communities there, while Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, well known for his work in linguistics and oriental studies, now Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council, was sent on a cultural tour to West Africa

Among the cultural delegations that came to visit India in 1954 55 were delegations from Afghanistan, the U S S R and the People's Republic of China, all of whom toured extensively in India and strengthened cultural ties between India and their respective countries The cultural delegation from Afghanistan had Dr Ali Ahmad Khan Popal, Deputy Minister of Education, as Leader, and consisted of ome prominent figures in the fields of literature, education, science and journalism in that country They

stayed in India for over two months and visited a number of historic and cultural centres such as Agra, Allahabad, Banaras, Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore and Bombay

A thirtyone member Soviet Cultural Delegation was led by Mr Bespalov, Deputy Minister of Culture in Russia It stayed for a week in New Delhi, where it witnessed the Republic Day celebrations, and gave performances of classical and folk dances and piano and violin recitals This delegation later visited Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, Hyderabad and Bombay during their six week stay in India

The Chinese Cultural Delegation with Mr Cheng Chen-to, Vice Minister for Cultural Affairs in China, as leader and with 67 noted authors, poets, actors, musicians and dancers as members, arrived in New Delhi on 6th of December 1954, at the invitation of the National Government It stayed for about six weeks in India and visited several places including Agra, Ajanta, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, which were very largely attended and greatly appreciated It was not merely that cultural delegations had been invited to visit India but India also sent delegations abroad to give the world outside some idea of the cultural life of India today In 1954, one such delegation led by Shrimati Chandrasekhar, Deputy Minister of Health, visited the USSR Poland and Czechoslovakia This was received with great enthusiasm and created in these countries a genuine interest in the music and dance of India

A cultural delegation consisting of 50 prominent Indian musicians and dancers also visited China in 1955 under the leadership of the Deputy Foreign Minister The delegation toured all over China and during their stay of two months received the most enthusiastic welcome from the people and undoubtedly helped in the forging of closer ties with the resurgent people of that ancient land

In 1951, a goodwill tour of the Middle East and Europe was undertaken by our Minister for Education, who visited Turkey Iraq, Egypt, Pakistan, U K , France and Switzerland A Cultural Agreement with Turkey was signed during this tour This agreement provides for the exchange of university teachers, students, members of scientific and cultural institutions, and sport units It is proposed to award scholarships to Turkish students and arrange for the exchange of publications between the two countries The Indo Turkish agreement will remain in force for 10 years and can be renewed after the expiry of this period

In December, 1949, Professor Humayun Kabir and Mr N K Sidhanta were deputed to advise Indian settlers in Nairobi regarding the setting up of educational institutions In 1952, Pandit Onkarnath Thakur, the eminent singer, was nominated by the Government of India to participate in the Jashan Day celebrations in Afghanistan His vocal recitals of Indian music were greatly appreciated in Afghanistan A number of Delegations to learned and cultural conferences have been sponsored by the National Government

Delegations and observers were sent by the Ministry of Education to the third, fourth and fifth Congresses of the International Theatre Institute held at Paris, Oslo and The Hague respectively India was represented at the International Political Science Congress at Zurich and the International Conference of Arts at Venice, and at the International Conference on the "Role and place of music in the education of young peoples and adults" which was held in Brussels Delegates were also sent to the International Congress of Orientalists held at Istanbul and at Cambridge in 1951 and 1954 respectively Financial assistance was also given to those who attended the International Conference of Linguists and the second Conference of World's Fellowship of Buddhists in Germany

Cultural societies in foreign countries, which would help in interpreting culture of India to their countrymen and in forging friendly ties, have been given substantial grants Some of the organizations

are the Indo-Egyptian Cultural Association, the Indo-Turkish Cultural Association the India League of Australia, the Imperial Institute of London, the Ceylon Estate Workers Educational Trust the School of Oriental Studies, London, the Royal Asiatic Society, London, the Italo Indian Association in Rome and the Indian Hospices, Jeruselam The Indo-Iranian Cultural Association has been converted into the Indian Council for Cultural Relations This Council is an autonomous and unofficial organisation whose function is to foster, revive and strengthen the cultural relations between India and other countries but it is financially supported by the National Government

In order to spread knowledge about India among people of foreign lands, the Government of India have been presenting books on Indian history, art, philosophy and other literature by eminent authors to Universities in other countries The libraries of Indian Missions abroad have been enlarged and mobile library vans have been provided in Mauritius and Trinidad

The Government of India and the U S A entered into an agreement for the exchange of official publications Under this agreement, both the countries furnish regularly to each other a copy of every official publication except those that may be considered secret Another agreement was signed between the Government of India and the Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere (CARE) in 1950 Under this agreement gifts, books, food and urgently needed commodities from U S A are supplied to approved professional and educational institutions in India The Government of India have also been assisting several Asian and African countries by the recruitment of Indian teachers required for the Universities and educational institutions in those countries Requests for this assistance were received from Afghanistan, Iraq Iran, Malaya, Uganda, Tasmania, Trinidad British Guiana Italy and Germany The subjects for which Indian teachers were asked for ranged from Sanskrit, Hindi and English to Science Music History and Art

The Government of India and the U S A signed the Fulbright Agreement in 1950 It was proposed under the Agreement to set up a Trust Fund out of the sale proceeds of surplus American stores left in India after the Second World War A Body called the United States Educational Foundation was established to administer this Fund for purposes specified in the Fulbright Act This Board has 10 Directors, five U S A citizens and five Indians This Foundation works in close cooperation with the Ministry of Education, Government of India, and provides Fellowships for Indian students in U S A and for American students in India Grants for purchase of books apparatus and other equipments are also given to educational institutions in India This programme has proved to be of great mutual advantage to both the countries and the signing of this Agreement is a veritable landmark in our cultural relations with foreign countries.

OTHER CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

The mighty range of the Himalayas cover over 1500 miles of India s northern boundary and play an important role in India s economy In India, however, interest in mountaineering was limited to only a very small number of people But the conquest of the Everest by Shri Tenzing Norgay immediately evoked great interest in mountaineering among young people all over the country Dr B C Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, proposed that an Institute in Mountaineering should be established in the home town of the conqueror of the Everest to foster among the young people a sense of comradeship, discipline and qualities of leadership while commemorating the achievement of that great mountaineer The Prime Minister, himself a great lover of the mountains, laid the foundation stone of the first Indian Institute of Mountaineering on 4th November, 1954, on Birch Hill in Darjeeling and the Institute is being maintained as a great national institution

YOUTH FESTIVAL

In pursuance of the recommendations of the U.N Seminar on Youth Welfare, the Inter-University Youth Festival, the first of its kind in India, was inaugurated in New Delhi by the Minister for Education on November 1, 1954 Over 700 men and women students from twentysix Universities participated in the festival, the purpose of which was to inculcate in the student community, discipline, unity and *joie de vivre* The festival which lasted about a week enabled the young people from different parts of the country to meet one another and familiarise themselves with the culture of different parts of India There were series of performances, including competitions in drama, classical music, dance, elocution and sports An exhibition of arts and crafts was organised by the students participating in the festival Besides paintings, a variety of handicrafts, such as painted pottery, embroidery, leather-work and sculpture were on view in the exhibition

The second Youth Festival was held last year in the Talkatora Gardens, and was more largely attended and had a more extended programme

The Ministry of Education also selected delegates on the result of an essay-writing competition and personal interviews for participation in the New York Herald Tribune Forum and the New York Mirror Forum

REPUBLIC DAY CELEBRATIONS

The Republic Day celebrations in 1955 were an occasion for many cultural events After the march past by the various units of the Armed Forces, there was a cultural pageant which followed In the pageant there were cultural tableaux from nearly every State The Madras tableau represented the peace mission of Avvai, the celebrated Tamil poetess who visited the courts of ancient Tamil Nad kings, exhorting them to unite, instead of wasting their energies in internal strife The West Bengal tableau showed a famous historical scene in which Chand Saudagar, a great merchant prince of 7th century A D, was seen loading his famous ship, Madhukara, and its fleet of smaller boats with the products of Bengal, for trading expedition, to the coastal cities of India and Ceylon The tableau from Kashmir depicted the handicrafts and the scenic beauty of the State In the carrier, shaped like a Shikara, set against a colourful background of mountains and forests, sat Kashmiris, Dogras and Ladakhis, dressed in their traditional costumes and singing to the accompaniment of folk instruments On either side of the boat, were seen craftsmen from Kashmir, busy fashioning articles of great beauty

Industrial progress was the theme of Bombay's tableau which was complementary to other tableaux which represented India's cottage industries

Pondicherry, now part of India, was represented by a boat, symbolising fishing which is an important occupation of the people of Pondicherry and a lighthouse Girls variously dressed in Indian and European clothes and singing French songs in chorus, represented the happy synthesis of French and Indian cultures that has been achieved in this place

FOLK DANCE FESTIVAL

As a prelude to the Folk Dance Festival at the National Stadium on January 27 and 28, a concert of folk music was held by All India Radio under its National Programme on January 26, 1955 The programme of one and a half hours consisted of 13 items presented by troupes from Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Pepsu, Sikkim, Manipur, Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Saurashtra Troupes from N E F Agency and Goa (representing Western India) also participated in the programme

On 27th January, a huge concourse of people watched the first performance of last year's Folk Dance Festival at the National Stadium in New Delhi The Ruf of Kashmir, the Nat Puja of Assam, the Lion Dance of Bombay, the Banjara Dance of Madhya Bharat, the Jadur of Orissa, the Thabal Chongba of Manipur, the Athanga Nritya of Saurashtra, the Shap Doh and the Chabrung of Sikkim, the Thiruvathirakali of Travancore Cochin, the Ahir Dance of Bundelkhand and the Siddi Dance of African bodyguards of Hyderabad were the most interesting items of the first day's performance The performance on the following day included some new features The Assamese troupe performed a dance of the Boro tribe and the aborigines of Vindhya Pradesh took the audience back to the strange life of the jungle The troupes from Bihar performed the Lugri and the Barela dances

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S ARTS EXHIBITION

The International Children's Arts Exhibition which has been organised by the Shankar's Weekly for some years now, enabled the children of a large number of countries to exhibit their works In 1954 some 24,000 entries were received from children belonging to 56 countries Out of these about 2 500 were selected for exhibition and prizes were awarded to 200 of them 100 additional prizes were awarded for children's writings

Shankar's Weekly also arranged an international exhibition of dolls this year which created very great interest

Indian school children have also been participating in the exhibitions of children's paintings in Italy Germany and the United Kingdom A selection of paintings by Indian children was also sent to Japan

Children from 42 countries participated in the International Children's Postage Stamp Designing Competition held in Delhi in connection with the Postage Stamp Centenary Celebrations in October 1954 and as many as 4,000 entries were received 53 prizes were awarded and it is interesting to note that the Director General of Swiss Posts and Telegraphs presented a gold clock as one of the prizes

The National Government has been giving increasing attention to the cultural needs of children In the third Children's Film Festival organized by the Cultural Film Society of Delhi in December 1954 as many as 31 children's films from Czechoslavakia Hungary, Germany the United Kingdom the U S S R and the U S A were exhibited The Union Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure announced in his inaugural address that Government would give grants to those engaged in the production of children's films varying from the entire cost of the first feature film to 50 per cent for the cost of the third feature film and two short films as commercial undertakings would find it difficult to produce children's films entirely on their own

Translation of Indian classics into European languages was an important project jointly undertaken by the Government of India and UNESCO in 1953 Funds for this purpose have been provided by the Government and the preliminaries completed The Indian National Commission for UNESCO has already recommended a list of Indian classics for translation into English and French The work on the two classics is already in hand The Government of India also helped the UNESCO to bring out an album of Ajanta paintings the first publication in their World Art Series

UNESCO exhibitions on Education and Peace Man against the Jungle Horizons of Cinema Japanese Art Woodcuts and the Colour Reproductions of Paintings prior to 1860 are being taken to every part of the country UNESCO exhibitions on Travelling Reference Libraries and Reproductions of Chinese Paintings and Stone Engravings are also shortly expected in India

With a view to strengthening cultural contact between India and other countries, the Government of India have recently instituted a scheme to award 30 scholarships every year to Indian nationals for specialisation in some of the major languages of Asia and Europe This scheme will also train Indian teachers employed at Universities where foreign languages are taught The languages for which scholarships are being awarded are Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Persian, Russian, Spanish and Turkish

The Overseas Scholarship Scheme which was started in 1945 continued till 1947-48 The scheme has now been modified and enlarged to meet not only the future requirements of the Union and State Governments but also of the Universities, research and technological institutions and public utility concern

The Government of India offered fellowships to German students for the study of Indian languages, religion and philosophy as a reciprocal measure to the facilities offered by the Federal Republic of West Germany for the free practical training of Indian engineers and apprentices in German heavy industries and post graduate facilities to Indian students The Government of India have also granted fellowships to French scholars to reciprocate the generous gesture of the French Government in awarding scholarships to Indian students for study in France

The foregoing paragraphs attempt to describe in brief some of the cultural activities sponsored by the Central Government but no attempt has been made to refer to the valuable work that is being done by the numerous cultural and learned societies all over India or to the work of the departments of the State Governments Only a passing reference can be made here to the splendid documentaries and shorts produced under the auspices of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, which have focussed public attention wherever they have been exhibited on the cultural life of the country The broadcasting organization has also been doing most valuable work in popularising through the radio classical Indian music, both vocal and instrumental in attempting to familiarise the people in India with their cultural heritage in the regional languages of India and in Hindi In the days of the alien rule of the country, little encouragement was given to the artists, musicians and dancers or for fostering the national literature in the Indian languages After the disintegration of the Moghul Sultanate at Delhi, such patronage as was given to the artists was by the local princes and big landowners But the whole attempt of the National Government has been to make the work of the artists, musicians and dancers familiar to the common people, and to bring an appreciation of Indian culture to every citizen of India without its being the special prerogative of a limited few belonging to the upper strata of society

It is hoped that this brief survey gives some idea of the valuable work for cultural development in India since Independence which is being so vigorously pursued by the National Government



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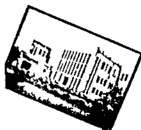
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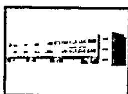
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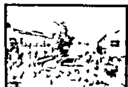
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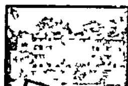
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DEAN'S HOTEL, PESHAWAR—Famous tourist hotel Comfortable rooms well furnished, Excellent cuisine and service

CECIL HOTEL, MURREE—8 000 ft above sea level. Gloriously situated overlooking the famous Kashmir range Well furnished rooms and cuisine Amusement—skiing and winter sport

... ost modern
... Dal Lake
... ball rooms,



Dhariwal

Amritsar

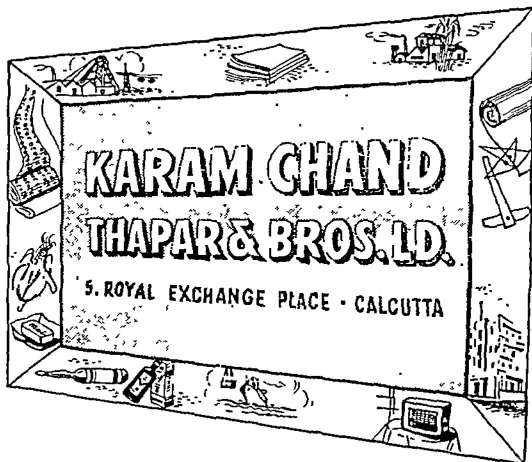
Delhi

Dhariwal Woollen and Worsted Fabrics are manufactured by the country's most skilful Craftsmen proud of their association with the finest materials of their kind which are manufactured in India

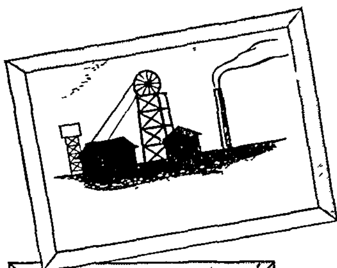
Calcutta

Bombay

Part of the Picture :



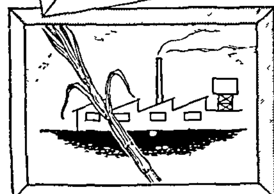
India's first Five Year Plan has heralded vast changes in the panorama of our Industrial progress. In the past three decades we have striven to identify ourselves as an intrinsic part of this picture. Amongst the activities contributing to *make up our part of the picture are such diverse interests as our* highly mechanized coal mines in virtually all the major coalfields of India, our sugar and paper mills whose capacity along with our modern textile mill in the Punjab and Pepsu area is being *vastly expanded, Radio and Engineering concerns and various* other associated activities, with a total capital employed in all the various companies of over 180 million rupees and an annual salary and wages bill of over 25 million rupees. We feel proud, in reviewing our position, of the mite we have contributed to the pattern of India's Industrial progress.



COAL

Oriental Coal Co. Ltd United Collieries Ltd. Rawanwara Collieries Ltd Jharia & Ranigunj Collieries Ltd. Kasta & Behar Collieries Ltd. Bhowra Kankanee Collieries Ltd Eastern Syndicate Ltd. Tentulia Khas Collieries Ltd Karam Chand Thapar & Bros (Coal Sales) Ltd.

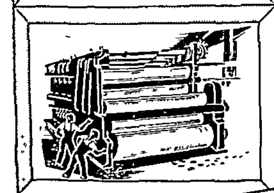
Annual raising of more than Two Million Tons In addition another One Million Tons handled from the market to cater for the requirements of our large clientele



SUGAR

Deoria Sugar Mills Ltd Mohini Sugar Mills Ltd New Savan Sugar & Gur Refining Co. Ltd Shree Sitaram Sugar Co Ltd Malwa Sugar Mills Co Ltd

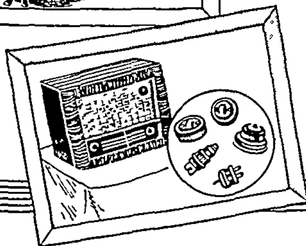
Current Annual production of about One Million Mds



PAPER

Shree Gopal Paper Mills Ltd The Ballarpur Paper & Straw Board Mills Ltd Capital Stationery Works.

Annual Production of about 24 000 Tons

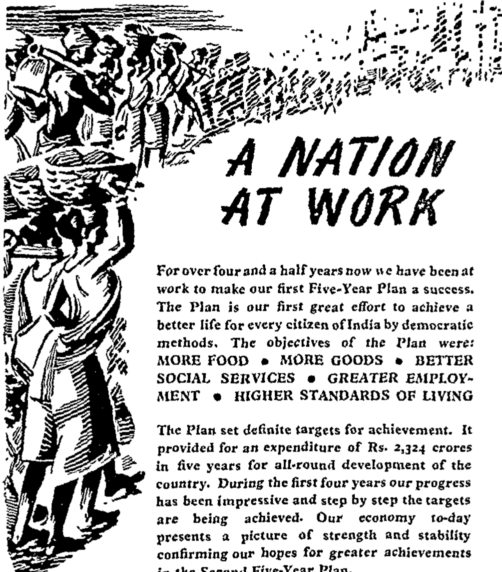


RADIOS & ELECTRICALS

Hindustan General Electrical Corporation Ltd

HGEC Radios are now made to SABA (West Germany) design under SABA expert s supervision

PROGRESS OF THE PLAN No. [illegible]



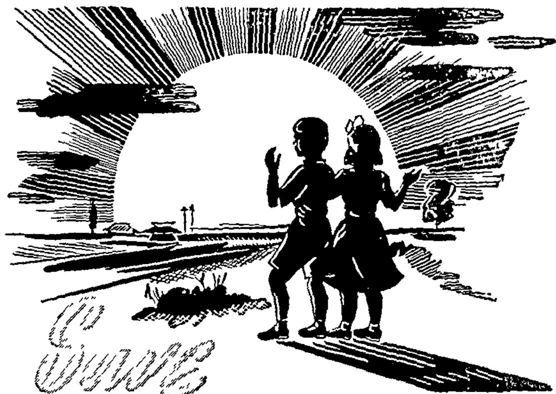
A NATION AT WORK

For over four and a half years now we have been at work to make our first Five-Year Plan a success. The Plan is our first great effort to achieve a better life for every citizen of India by democratic methods. The objectives of the Plan were: MORE FOOD • MORE GOODS • BETTER SOCIAL SERVICES • GREATER EMPLOYMENT • HIGHER STANDARDS OF LIVING

The Plan set definite targets for achievement. It provided for an expenditure of Rs. 2,324 crores in five years for all-round development of the country. During the first four years our progress has been impressive and step by step the targets are being achieved. Our economy to-day presents a picture of strength and stability confirming our hopes for greater achievements in the Second Five-Year Plan.

The People's plan FOR THE *People's welfare*

AC 55/113


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ORS STAFF POLICE
NT AND THE STATES

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And above all the flowering of freedom that holds promise of new greatness



India

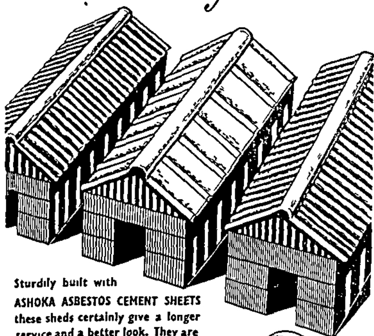
for all who seek to know

DA 55/144

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In the enrichment of the nation's economy, individuals as well as communities have their special gifts to bestow Not least, the great Community of India's handloom weavers whose artistic skill in the creation *of fine fabrics has been a joy to everyone who looks for* excellence in personal wear and home decoration



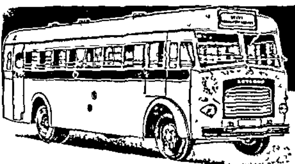
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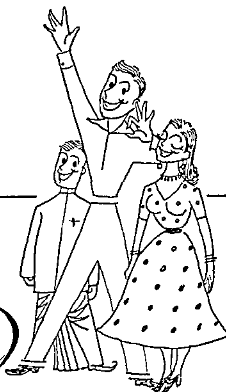

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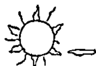




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